









# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

(FORMERLY "THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW")

VOL. VII.

JULY—NOVEMBER, 1915. Nos. 17—20



PUBLISHED AT

WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, 3, VICTORIA STREET, LONDON,

BY

EAST AND WEST, LIMITED.



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*His a little*

(CARMEN SILVA)

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY 1, 1916

CARMEN SYLVA  
(QUEEN ELISABETH OF ROUMANIA)

BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE

Author of "India To-day," "Rambles in Thoughtland," "The Heart of China," etc.

"Carmen Sylva is a wonderful woman. I believe she comes the nearest to the ideal Queen, the one who nearest lives up to the motto, 'noblesse oblige,' of any woman on a throne to-day."—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

"The domain of Carmen Sylva is bounded neither by political nor racial nor geographical lines. The world pays voluntary homage to a Queen whose charity is boundless as her dominion over hearts open to tender and noble impulses."—MRS. WALKER FEARN.

"The Queen of Roumania is known all over Europe, under the pseudonym of 'Carmen Sylva,' as a royal authoress who, even if she had not had the advantages of rank, would still have made a name in literature."—WILLIAM MILLER, M.A. (Oxon): *The Story of the Balkans*.

"I would rather become a weeping rock like Niobe than never have been a mother," said Carmen Sylva, while speaking of maternity—the summer-time of woman's life, the highest expression of womanhood.

The Queen's only child, a girl, was born in 1870, and died four years later. I naturally did not recall this sad incident to Her Majesty's mind, even though I knew she realized that to have sent a child to heaven is a great honour and a great blessing, and that one's feelings on such an occasion may well be such as render them rather an object of congratulation than of condolence.

∴ Wherever men and women take a delight in childhood,

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character is softened down into lines of beauty. Pity for helplessness is the first flush of feeling that warms us when we see a child

“ Launched forth, a frail little boat,  
In the midst of life’s turbulent sea.”

And out of the soil of pity three-fourths of human virtues spring. The noble reciprocity of the great scheme of things, whereby the world moves on perpetually, appears in the love and care with which the doting parent watches over the child, and in the refining of character, the burning up of selfishness, the emolition of careless hardness, which form an unconscious repayment for the solicitude that has been expended. Childhood draws out the generous love of men and women, and in doing so not only safeguards itself, but blesses those who give. Such a weakling is man when he first appears upon the stage of being—

“ A light little bundle of wailing and flannel,  
Perplexed with the newly-found fardel of life ”

—that Providence has thought best to overdo rather than underdo the pride and devotion with which the fresh arrival is welcomed. Every babe is the most wonderful that was ever born. That invulnerable fact is the child’s defence and hope against helplessness and an overcrowded world. Theoretically, I know, the fact may be assailed. Whimsical bachelors, like Charles Lamb, may complain of their friends giving themselves airs when they come to have children, and may cynically say that they could understand parental pride if the human progeny were young phœnixes, or, indeed, were born only one in a year, but that they do not understand such over-weening self-congratulation when the occurrence is so common. But, in spite of these cavilling criticisms, we know that the wonder of special preference is continually renewed, and the latest born is always the best. So the passionate care that watched over the world’s first-born will not be outworn when the final inheritor of all man’s troubles and triumphs takes up his birthright.

The Queen's willing hand hastens to obey the pitiful heart, and bestow the needed relief upon every sufferer ; for, as she very truly says, " there is always something to be done for somebody around us, and it has to be done quickly, else the golden hour runs away and the opportunity is lost."

During the Russo-Turkish Campaign of 1877 many Roumanian soldiers were wounded, and Queen Elisabeth, who constantly visited the hospitals, found that some of the patients died because they chose death rather than disfigurement.

The Roumanian has in every walk in life a strange pride which causes him to abhor the idea of medicine and surgery, and to consider the loss of a limb as terrible as that of life itself. He has become accustomed to the idea that only beggars are so disfigured, and believes that no necessity should constrain him to such a loss.

It occurred to the Queen that if one yielded, others would follow, and one day, when the surgeon was turning away sorrowfully from an obstinate patient who could be saved only by an operation, she approached, and added her own entreaties. Still the soldier reiterated that, if his leg were amputated, he should be taken for a mendicant, like the wretched outcasts of the Carpathians. " I am not a beggar," said he proudly. " I will lose my life, but not my honour." " It is true," said the Queen, " you are not a beggar, but I am "; and she threw herself on her knees at the bedside. " I have never prayed but to God, but now I supplicate you to listen to His wish and mine. Let your leg be taken off, and spare your life to your country, and me, and——" " And if I consent, my lady, what then ?" " Why, then," she said joyfully, rising and seizing his hand again, " I will give you the most beautiful cork leg in Europe ; it shall work with springs, and, when the war is over, you shall come and dance at the Palace with your sons." " I consent," he said softly ; " but you must hold my hand during the operation." After that there was no more opposition to

the surgeon's wishes, since they were also those of the beloved lady of the land.

When the Roumanian army entered Bulgarian territory in the second Balkan War, the Queen sent a telegram to her regiment urging the soldiers to remember that they were the representatives of a civilized nation, and Her Majesty assured me that they responded most nobly to her appeal. There was only one apostate, and he, poor fellow, must have been ravenously hungry, for he stole a goose.

While the Queen's mind is always occupied with plans for the betterment of humanity, her main interest lies with the poor souls walking in blindness, the most cruel of all afflictions. In olden days there were no avenues of relief, and the blind gladly welcomed the arrival of the swift-sailing canoe to bear them across the Silent River. To-day a vast change has been wrought by Queen Elisabeth, who, in building the city of "Vatra Luminoasa" (Hearth of Light), has helped the blind to help themselves. Her Majesty told me that a blind printer in her city had invented a simple printing-machine that will be the means of placing the choicest literature of the world before his fellow-sufferers. With this machine the blind can print for themselves, and very cheaply.

The Baroness von Krauschfeld, a blind English lady, who went to reside at the City of the Blind at the invitation of the Queen, and there devotes her life and talents to the service of her fellow-sufferers, says: "For many years Her Majesty, with her own loving hands, aided by one of her attendants, has been printing for the blind, and in the recesses of the Royal Palace books have been produced, mainly Her Majesty's own compositions. These books have been scattered all over the globe, to be the solace and the joy of hundreds of closed eyes."

The Queen is opposed to the relegation of the blind to institutions, because they have a depressing effect. The blind must be kept in daily contact with their more fortunate fellows of the seeing world, as it helps to make them

more acute in perception, and their capabilities for enjoyment and usefulness are increased. This association is mutually helpful, for the sympathies are not only aroused, but kept alive in the people with sight. If the emotions are allowed to subside, the blind are partly forgotten, and the good work remains only half accomplished. The Queen, who has earned many thousands of pounds with her pen to help the blind, will leave behind her a monument of virtue that the storms of time can never destroy. She has written her name in kindness and in mercy on the hearts of the blind in all lands. In sending Mrs. Walker Fearn, her co-worker and friend, on a tour of the world in the interests of the blind, the Queen said: "Go forth and be my messenger. Carry my message of love to the world. You are eminently fitted to do this. Go and study the condition of the blind in England and America. See what is needed to better their lives. Then go and talk to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, and make them realize their duty to the blind. Do not interfere with any other system of work, but do all you can to help it. Tell the blind of my hopes to enlarge their lives."

Mr. Alfred Adams, in a story of a blind Professor of Esperanto from the City of the Blind, who attended the Esperanto Congress at Cracow just before the last Balkan War, says: "From the Professor we heard much of the activities of the Queen and her personal interest in the use of Esperanto amongst the blind in her city, to which we, a party of Esperantists, paid a visit after the Congress was over. The manager very courteously showed us over the buildings, in which we not only found several blind students who spoke Esperanto, but Braille books printed in that language and the Braille writing-machine used by the Queen."

It is the object of the Queen to make Esperanto the medium of uniting the blind of all nationalities through an interchange of library-books in Braille Esperanto. Mr. Adams says that "Brailling a book is not only a long,

expensive, and trying work, but it becomes very bulky. If done in any national language—English, for example—it can only be read by English-speaking people, but if, on the contrary, the book is done in Braille Esperanto, it is at once readable by blind people of all nationalities, so that, instead of selling one copy, they can sell a hundred at least. The Queen appreciates this fact, and has instructed the Professor of Esperanto to do everything in his power to advance the study of the language.

“After inspecting the buildings, I inquired the way to the Professor’s house, and they told me it was very far, and that I should have great difficulty in finding it. So I asked if someone could show me the way. ‘Oh yes, they would send a blind man who spoke Esperanto.’ For at least half an hour he took me through fields, over ditches and cross-roads, and then, pointing to a kind of stockade fence, said: ‘That is where the Professor lives.’ I could only express my wonder and my thanks in a substantial manner to my wonderful guide. Sure enough, inside the stockade fence I found my blind friend of the Congress at Cracow, and we had much to talk over.

“In the afternoon he took me into Bucharest, together with his little daughter, who was to guide him home again. We found a rendezvous in the public park, and all the Esperantists of Bucharest dropped in one by one, until we formed a large party, many of whom were blind. They offered us, who had come all the way from London to visit them [that was a thing they could none of them understand], a very hearty Esperanto welcome.

“The Esperantists, who are united by a common Brotherhood, have held international congresses in ten European countries, and the common language, intelligibly spoken in every country, was an ‘open sesame’ to the hearts of all our Samideauvj, but, thanks to Carmen Sylva, in none of them did we receive a warmer welcome than in a little spot in far-away Roumania.”

When the Queen visits the blind in Roumania, her depart-

ture is followed by throngs of the sightless and the seeing, who call after her : " Good-bye, Mother Queen ; God bless you !" And the whole world re-echoes blessings, indeed, upon such a Queen.

Her Majesty is not in sympathy with the " Shrieking Sisterhood " in England, who smash shop-windows, assault statesmen, burn houses, rip paintings, destroy letters, and other " clever things," in order to prove they are not only equal, but superior to men. In speaking of women's rights she said : " We have the right to suffer, to be patient, to work hard, to help, to nurse, to be virtuous, and make men so. What more do we want ?"

One of the many weaknesses of the " Shrieking Sisterhood " is their grudge against nature and their refusal to acknowledge eternal facts. They rebel at having been born women, and yet strenuously assert their superiority to men. They gird at them on every available occasion, and yet imitate them, more especially in their weaknesses. They declare that sex should make no difference, and yet their whole work, through its unnecessary antagonism to men, is emphasizing the differences that are denied.

Queen Elisabeth is a tall graceful woman with snow-white hair and brilliant blue eyes. She generally dresses in soft white materials, but the evening she received me at the Palace she was in pure black, and wore no jewels. Her Majesty is the earliest riser in Roumania. " I am the first workwoman at work," she loves to repeat ; " I am always up two hours before dawn, which, in winter, has a meaning awful to many. I light my small electric lamp, and drink the cold chocolate prepared for me, and do not stop writing or reading letters before it is seven o'clock, when in Bucharest the rattle of carriages in the streets gets more audible, and in Sinaia grows clearer the streak of purple and gold on the bosom of the mountains, then, I put Carmen Sylva aside ; I am the Queen, and begin to inquire after the day's business." The Queen always writes on adhesive blocks, and uses a stylographic pen. Pierre Loti



considers that she has produced, in actual quantity, more than any other living author, though much of her work has never seen the light, and in all probability never will. She does not believe in correction or elaboration, holding that, as the thought springs from the brain, so it must remain, for good or ill. Her Majesty speaks English, Italian, Swedish, French, Roumanian, as well as German, her native tongue, and is gifted with astonishing conversational powers. There was a time, so we are often told, when men and women knew how to entertain themselves and as many listeners as might crowd about them with conversation. That time has gone by, we are also frequently informed; and with its departure the art of conversation has declined until it would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that it has almost vanished. One essayist, touching upon this now generally accepted statement, and regretting it, as all essayists are inclined to do periodically, declares that the "lamentable lack of conversation" in these days is a symptom of the empty-headedness of the average man and woman. Emerson has pointed out that sincere and happy conversation doubles our powers. Every variety of gift, he says—science, religion, politics, letters, art, war, and love—has its vent and exchange in conversation. He instances Madame de Staël, of whom another lady said: "If I were Queen, I should command Madame de Staël to talk to me every day." But Emerson's opinion of women in social life is always high. "Are there not women," he asks, "who fill our vase with wine and roses to the brim, so that the wine runs over and fills the house with the perfume, who inspire us with courtesy, who unloose our tongue and we speak, who anoint our eyes and we see? No one can be a master in the art of conversation who has not learnt much from women. Their presence and inspiration are essential to success." But let us not be mistaken in our appreciation of this delightful accomplishment. It does not follow that we can all ever hope to converse with the grace and

charm which we admire. Some must be content to be tongue-tied in company, like Nathaniel Hawthorne, who, clever as he was, envied the people whom he heard chattering freely to each other in the street, and who consoled himself when in company with the delightful thought of the inconceivable number of places where he was not. No, the power of entertaining and artistic talk is not to be easily gained, and those who have it ought daily to feel grateful for their gift, as their acquaintances are grateful for its exercise.

The Queen, who is a brilliant pianist and organist, spends three hours a day in her music-room. Some years ago she was told by many of her admirers that her voice was equal to Patti's, but she did not believe them, and decided to have it tested. She went to a great French master, who, after hearing her sing, said: "Madame, you have musical feeling, but no voice. You might make a success in operetta, but, to be frank, your face isn't worth anything." This honest opinion amused the Queen, who rather confused the poor master by revealing her identity as she left his studio.

Queen Elisabeth visited England in 1891, and while staying at Balmoral she was deeply touched by the many kindnesses shown her by Queen Victoria and Queen Alexandra, then Princess of Wales, and often refers to that inimitable charm which characterizes Queen Alexandra, with whom she has since kept up an affectionate correspondence.

Lord and Lady Penrhyn, Sir Richard and Lady Magdalen Bulkeley, Lord and Lady Mostyn, Viscountess Falmouth, and Viscountess Powerscourt had, on the occasion, the honour of being the hosts of her Majesty, who always speaks of them as her "English friends."

On leaving London, where she had always been greeted by enthusiastic crowds, Queen Elisabeth said: "I have lost my heart to England and the English."

. . .

## THE PRESENT SITUATION AND SOME PARALLELS

BY A MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

COMMENT on the progress of operations in the various theatres of war, at the present time, is useless. The growing activity on the Russian front is not yet developed to such an extent as to permit of useful comment; the last report received from the Western front at the time of writing announces "nothing to report." The attitude of Greece with regard to the Allied occupation of Salonika is still uncertain; the Italian attack on the Carso Plateau and the Podgora Ridge, nearing a successful termination, is still undecided; and neither Gallipoli nor the Mesopotamian campaign offers points of decision for criticism. Thus, in the purely military sense, there is no room for comment; for prophecy in purely military matters is foolish, and analysis of an operation that is still in progress is futile—only definite results call for criticism of the means by which they have been obtained.

Many similes have been used to describe the present war, and writers of all shades of opinion are given to likening the war to some kind of game; they speak of the Allies as "playing for a stake," and of the Central Powers as "playing" in one connection or another. These similes by which the war is compared to games or sporting contests, are utterly misleading, for they tend to conceal the fact that this war is a fight literally to the death. The only simile of the kind

that is at all admissible is that of two men, either armed or unarmed, at grips, each knowing that defeat means death. There is no game about it; there is, failing one unlikely contingency, no possibility of the loser getting another chance, as would be the case in any kind of game; defeat means, in this case, being wiped out. The one unlikely contingency is that the contest may terminate with an inconclusive peace, which would give Prussia a chance to recuperate and start again at some future time.

Following out this simile of a fight to a finish between two combatants, it may be remarked that the two combatants have decided to fight in absolutely different ways. The one says: "If by exerting all my strength at the outset I can half cripple my opponent, it will be easy to finish beating him. My main chance lies in exerting all my strength at the beginning of the contest, so that I may disable one of his limbs and force him to confess himself beaten." The other combatant says: "There is no chance of winning at the beginning; this fight, if I can hold out through the first fierce round, is going to be decided by wind and staying power. My business is to spar for safety while my opponent wastes his reserves of strength, and then, when he is a little weaker than I am, will be the time to sail in and finish him."

This, strictly speaking, is not a sporting attitude; in any kind of sport, the opponents would be weighted or otherwise handicapped so as to make their chances even, and would play out their contest and shake hands at the finish. But these two combatants, continuing the simile, are not conducting a sporting contest; they are fighting for life itself, and each fights to win, irrespective of the damage he may inflict on the other. They will fight as long as they possibly can, and will use all means that they can, for the loser is doomed to death—national death through bankruptcy and the imposition of the will of the winner on the loser in all things.

Now, to enlarge on the simile, the determination of the

Central Powers to put all on the first round of the fight, the hope of winning by smashing the Western limb of the Allies before the Eastern limb could deliver a blow, was broken at the Marne. When the perspective of history makes things clear, it will be seen that the Battle of the Marne proved fatal to the German arms, and decided the war. If we would see the truth of this at the present time, we have only to follow out what would have happened if the Battle of the Marne had been decided in favour of the Germans. As things are, the occupation by the enemy of all France lying north of Troyes and Orleans is unthinkable; had the battle of the Marne been a German victory, such occupation would have been inevitable, and the enemy army corps that held and still hold the line from the Vosges to the sea would have been free to crush Russia. The war must either have dragged on for years, or terminated in the victory that Germany had planned. Thus, the Battle of the Marne counts as the decisive point of the war.

So much for similes, and now we may pass to a consideration of the most striking parallel that may be drawn between this war and that of the Napoleonic period. Many parallels of the kind have been drawn, but the exhaustion of the German reserves, now an accomplished fact, renders this parallel more striking than the rest. It arises mainly out of the present German insistence on the occupation of territory as a deciding factor in the war. In order to get terms of peace that shall permit of renewing the combat after rest and recuperation, Germany points American opinion and neutral opinion generally to the fact that, whatever the Allies may say, practically the whole of Belgium, some part of northern France, and all western Russia, are in German hands. It is safe to say—as far as it is safe in war to say anything of the kind—that the maximum extension of the German lines has been reached, and the maximum amount of territory is in enemy hands. In the efforts to conclude peace that, from this time onward, are bound to grow in intensity as the possibility of maintaining

this maximum extension lessens, Germany will make use of this territorial gain as a lever with which to move political opinion in the Allied countries. The form of the argument will be, approximately : "We have advanced thus far, and are capable of remaining on these present lines indefinitely. A deadlock has been reached, and peace is as advantageous to you as it is to us." Other arguments will be adduced, but it is already evident that this, in varying forms, is the main line on which such efforts will be based.

Neglecting the parallel for the minute, and going still farther back into causes, we come to the present actual position of the German forces, and the psychology of the German race. The present position of the German forces is that there are, with the exception of a very limited number of very young men, who are being reserved for the spring campaign, no more reserves of troops in Germany or Austria ; the fruits of the Balkan campaign have already been reaped, save for the very remote possibility of Roumanian assistance, and the rate of enemy wastage is not less than 400,000 a month, on all fronts. With no more efficient reserves to fill the gaps caused by this wastage, with the knowledge that the Allies can fill gaps as wastage occurs, and thus with the understanding that their depleted lines must soon be withdrawn in the direction of their own frontiers, the enemy Governments insist on the "deadlock" that has arisen, hoping thereby to influence civilian and political opinion in the Allied countries, and thus to secure the inconclusive peace that remains as their only hope in the war—the hope of victory disappeared with the failure to crush the Russian armies last summer.

The psychology of the German race is such that Germany fails utterly to understand the psychology of the rest of the world. German strategists, and German pedants of various kinds have worked out the best way of intimidating and coercing the German will, and have applied this to the wills of Germany's enemies—with disastrous or else negligible results. The terrorizing of Belgium, intended to obviate

the need for a large garrison in the conquered territory, proved disastrous, for it alienated all educated neutral opinion, and made of America a passive enemy when friendship might have been of the highest value. The Zeppelin raids on England, which might have frightened a German population into clamouring for peace, proved negligible, and even stimulated recruiting in England. Now, in adducing reasons for making peace, Germany tries to blind the Allies, by a process of reasoning based on false premises, to the fact that there is no such thing as a "deadlock" in war, and that territorial extensions do not count, unless the power making such extension is (a) able to make good the conquered territory indefinitely; (b) able by such extension to cripple an enemy and place it beyond his power to maintain his military forces in the field; (c) able to impress the enemy civilian population to an extent that will compel the military command to bow to the civilian will, and forgo advantage in order to bargain over the lost territory. But, in the case under consideration, except for the loss of the manufacturing areas of Lille in the West, and Lodz, in the East—losses which have been so far made good that they are not decisive—the enemy occupation of territory has profited him nothing in the military sense, while it has given him near on fifteen hundred miles of fighting line to maintain. Lack of comprehension of the psychology of other races, and the attempt to judge the whole world by German standards, has proved the downfall of Germany.

And in this extension of territory is, as has already been remarked, the most striking parallel between this war and the Napoleonic wars that has yet appeared, if for "communications" in the case of Napoleon we substitute "reserves" in the present war. A little over a hundred years ago Wellington sat behind the lines of Torres Vedras through a winter, and Napoleon's territorial extensions included part of Portugal and practically the whole of Spain—just as the Franco-British forces sit behind the present Western

line. The force under Wellington needed only to be contained, for the time, and apparently this containing called for but a small force. Yet this business of containing the force behind the lines of Torres Vedras, the knowledge that reserves must be at hand to render such a force negligible, formed the "Spanish ulcer" that, as Napoleon himself confessed after, broke him. There was, as at the present time in France and Belgium, territorial expansion; the enemy's country was overrun, and the possibility of the invasion of French territory was less than remote. And probably there were armchair critics who wanted to know what good Wellington was doing behind those lines, and why he did not move.

In the East, the parallel is with Napoleon's Russian campaign. To-day, those who take the surface value of things look on the Moscow episode as a matter of weeks at most—except for the retreat, which all know was a long drawn-out tragedy. What is overlooked is that the overrunning of Western Russia was almost as long a business as the present German invasion. The crossing of the Niemen by the Germans very nearly coincided in month and date with Napoleon's crossing, and the actual burning of Moscow has overshadowed the Napoleonic conquest of Western Russia—a far more complete conquest than this by the Germanic powers. Lack of communications rendered that great adventure fatal; lack of reserves renders the German adventure a more than probable failure. For the present line of a thousand miles, or thereabouts, can only be held by constant feeding with men and munitions, and since the end of November the men are to seek. An admirable system of communications renders it possible to transfer reinforcements to one part of the line at the expense of another part, as enemy threats are made against the German lines, but there is an end to this form of reinforcement, and that end is not far off.

Especially in the East is this extension of territory identical with the Napoleonic aim. Napoleon hoped that the

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occupation of Moscow would so far intimidate the political heads of Russia that it would be possible to enforce peace, and his whole army would be free to deal with the rest of his enemies. The Germanic advance into Russia was devoted to just such an end ; the crippling of the Russian military power, and subsequent dealing with an intimidated people. But the burning of Moscow left a Russian army that ruined the Grand Army ; and the German advance, now at its farthest limit, has left a Russian army that is able to deal with the invader, though the advent of railways has made such a retreat as Napoleon's no longer probable.

Reverting to the growing enemy desire for peace, it may be remarked that the enemy has erred, beyond question, in making no appeal whatever to instructed military opinion. Such opinion, all over the world, is cognisant of the fact that the German reserves are exhausted ; it is a comparatively simple sum that proves this ; the census and the average increase of population, together with the known percentage of able military men, trained and untrained, in all populations, give the first figure ; the number of men required for manufacture of munitions and interior services is easily calculated on a proportional basis, and the approximate rate of enemy loss is known. With this knowledge, it is easy to calculate an approximate date, and a latest possible date, at which no reserves will remain with which to make good losses ; and instructed military opinion, both in Allied and neutral countries, has made the calculation. More especially in America has this been done, where the last war of exhaustion, and the greatest, save this present war, was fought, and where the small body of trained military experts is one of the most highly specialized and one of the best in the world.

To these specialists, whose opinion in the end will prove the only one that counts, Germany has made no appeal whatever. Patent nonsense of a "deadlock" is plentiful enough in the German Press and in the propaganda work of the German Government, but in all the history of the

world there has never been a permanent military deadlock, for the nature of war renders such a thing impossible. Patent nonsense of retaining the present lines indefinitely is talked, when expert military opinion is able to tell to a month the time when the Germanic armies must fall back on shorter fronts. All German propaganda work is devoted to influencing uninstructed civilian opinion, and this with a measure of success it must be owned, especially in England. It seems as if Germany, contrasting foreign democracy with its own system of autocracy, imagines that other countries are entirely ruled by uninstructed civilian opinion, and bases its propaganda work on that supposition.

This tactlessness, this lack of perspicacity, is less remarkable when the beginnings and growth of the German Empire are considered. Germany is the interloper, the *bourgeois* thrusting into an aristocracy. Other nations of Europe have centuries not of personal but of national education; they are as a closed community, of which the members understand each the others' idiosyncrasies; considering each nation as one man, it has learned, and accepted or rejected, certain theories of national life, and acceptance and rejection alike have given it understanding of the value of such theories—it can appreciate them, even though it cannot accept them. Into this closed community thrusts an underbred bully with one single theory of life—the theory of might. Where the community has learned life through centuries, the interloper has had but forty years in which to digest his one theory, and that a theory that all the rest of the community have long since—nineteen hundred years since—rejected as unworkable. During the forty years that are allotted to the bully for the perfection of the one theory, he forgets and becomes totally unable to perceive that other theories exist; so that, in dealing with the rest of the community, he treats them as if they too lived by this same theory of brute force. Not only does he strive to enforce the theory, but, where diplomacy is essential, he bases his diplomacy on the theory. Meanwhile, the community,

realizing that the bully is insufferable, makes up its collective mind that it is time he was thrust out. It sees the point of view that the interloper holds, and understands that the presence of one holding such a point of view is intolerable. At any cost, at any sacrifice, this bully must be utterly thrust out.

The process of thrusting out, a painful business for the community, is now well advanced.

## THE REPAIRER OF THE TAJ MAHAL

BY COLONEL SIR EDWARD THACKERAY, V.C., K.C.B.

THE following short memoir of a very gallant and talented officer, the late Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Taylor, of the Bengal Engineers, who carried out extensive and important repairs to the Taj Mahal at Agra in 1810, and to the tomb of the Emperor Akbar, and to other buildings of architectural and antiquarian interest in India, may, it is hoped, be of some interest to the readers of the *Asiatic Review*.

Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Taylor arrived in India in 1808, his first commission as Lieutenant being dated in October of that year; he was almost immediately posted to Agra as Assistant to Captain Steele, the Garrison Engineer, to whose appointment he eventually succeeded, retaining it till 1826, between which period and 1830, when he returned to Agra as Superintending Engineer of the North-Western Provinces, he successively filled the situations of Executive Engineer at Dinapore, Garrison Engineer and Civil Architect of Fort William, and, for a short period, that of acting Chief Engineer.

In the early part of his service at Agra, Lieutenant Taylor was frequently employed in the reduction of the numerous small forts in the vicinity of this station, at that time occupied by refractory Zimeendars, whom the recollection of successful resistance to the attempted collections of

former Native Governors, and ignorance of our power, occasionally led to vain opposition to the British Revenue Authorities, or an endeavour to protect the hordes of free-booters by which the Agra district was then infested. The cool and determined courage of Lieutenant Taylor was manifest in all these affairs, and opportunity was not wanting for its conspicuous display on more than one occasion.

In the year, 1810, Lieutenant Taylor was selected by the Government to repair the Taj, and when the limited sum granted for that repair, as compared with the extent of work executed, is considered, the praise bestowed by his superiors, on his completion of the duty, must meet with general assent. The repairs of the tomb of the Emperor Akbar at Secundra was another of his duties, and although during the many years that have elapsed since the task was completed nothing has been done to maintain the state of repair in which he placed it, the structure bears full evidence of his zealous exertions. Many other public works of beauty and utility might be instanced, as well at the Presidency as at Agra, in proof of his taste and ability in this branch of his profession.

But it was not in the execution of his civil duties alone that this gallant officer merits our notice. He was found a volunteer at Hattrass in 1817, and was present during the siege and reduction of that fortress, the last and infinitely the strongest of the forts of this class that had occasionally defied our power since the provinces of Agra and Dooba had become subject to the British rule. He was promoted to the rank of Captain on September 1, 1818, and in this rank was among the most distinguished of the officers of his corps. At the siege and capture of Bhurtpoor in 1825 and 1826, he was severely wounded in an attempt to blow up a gallery made by the enemy into the ditch, which greatly impeded the operations of the attacking force. For the gallantry displayed by Captain Taylor on this occasion, he received the personal and written thanks of the Commander-in-Chief. His services at Bhurtpoor were further

acknowledged by his promotion from the date of the fall of that fortress to a Brevet Majority.

His promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel took place on June 18, 1831, and as the senior officer of this grade in his corps, he died, at the early age of forty-five, at Agra, on the morning of April 20, 1835, from an apoplectic attack, leaving behind him a general feeling of respect for his memory and of sympathy with those by whom his loss must be most severely felt.

From *The Englishman and Military Chronicle*, May 25, 1847 :

OPERATIONS OF THE BENGAL ARMY IN INDIA AND ON FOREIGN SERVICE—THE SIEGE OF BHURTPUR.

*Enemy dislodged from a Gallery.*—The gallery in the enemy's rampart, from which our miners had been obliged to retire, having since been observed to be occupied by the enemy, it was this night (January 9, 1826) resolved to dislodge them. For this duty *Captain Taylor* (Engineers), *Sub-Conductor Richardson*, and ten Sappers, gallantly stepped forward. Having entered the ditch by the debris of the 3, 4, and 5 mines, the party cautiously advanced to the mouth of the gallery. Voices heard and light seen in its interior having indicated the necessity of silence and celerity, 350 lbs. of *powder*, carried over in sandbags, was placed in the narrow opening communicating from the gallery, made by the garrison, to that which had been ours. A *hose* having been laid, and the entrance tamped with sandbags, the explosion, not an instant deferred, proved entirely successful. Both galleries were destroyed.

The planning and manner of executing of this exploit merited, and, as the annexed letter to \* *Captain Taylor*

\* The letter must be in the Adjutant-General's office. Some years before, when Captain Taylor was the Engineer officer at Agra, and was

proves, received just praise. Spirited as had been the conduct of the natives, the advantage, on such a service, of having *one* well-instructed European Sapper had been again experienced. *Sub-Conductor Richardson*, of the Sappers and Miners, who had been trained at Chatham by Colonel Pasley, was, for the cool and systematic assistance he here afforded, promoted to the grade of Conductor.

[From Lieutenant W. N. Forbes' Journal.]

From *The Englishman and Military Chronicle*, May 27, 1847 :

OPERATIONS OF THE BENGAL ARMY IN INDIA AND ON FOREIGN SERVICE—THE SIEGE OF BHURTPUR.

*Attempt to destroy Enemy's Gallery* [January 12, 1826].—Captains Taylor and Irvine (Engineers) having made the preparations requisite for an attempt to destroy the enemy's gallery in the North Rampart, when the moon had set, entered the ditch and advanced towards the adjacent cotton-bag parapet.

Here the officers in advance of a covering-party of Goorkhas and Europeans got hand-to-hand engaged with a guard of the garrison found lining a rear trench. In the confusion (heightened by darkness) that ensued, Captain Taylor, taken by some of his party for one of the enemy,\* received several severe wounds. Captain Irvine, after

repairing the dome of the *Taj Mahal*, he took his wife up the rope ladders to the top of the dome. He was always very bold.

\* "He had on a Lascar's cap and a drab greatcoat." One of our men thrust his bayonet with so much force into one of the enemy that he could not pull it back again, and the fellows in the cavern were pulling in opposition to him at the wounded, or dead, man to get him away, so that the bayonet was unscrewed and carried off in the wound. Our soldier, finding the bayonet going, made a grasp at the sword-belt of his foe, which gave way, and he brought off the sword in exchange for the bayonet [*Letter*, vol. vi., p. 441, E.I.U.S.J.]. Captain Taylor saved himself by calling out, "I am Captain Taylor of the Engineers."

passing through an opening in the parapet, having temporarily been disabled by a bruise (inflicted by a Jaat with a matchlock wielded as a club), it for the night became necessary to abandon the enterprise. In retiring, the cotton-bags (previously scattered by the fire of the ravine battery) were set on fire.

[From the Artillery Journal, January 12, 1826.]

*Lieutenant Irvine's (Engineers) private letter to Colonel ——— (most likely the Hon. Colonel Finch, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief) :*

[January 14, 1826].

*Enemy's Gallery blown up.*—On the morning of the 10th it was observed that the enemy had made a parapet of cotton-bags across the ditch, about forty yards to the right of the gun-breach.

On the morning of the 12th, with a view to discover the nature and object of this work, I entered the ditch, accompanied by a party of Goorkhas under Lieutenant Spottiswoode, and found that this parapet was connected with a gallery leading completely through the ramparts, thus enabling the enemy to enter the ditch at pleasure, and keep a watch on our mining operations.

This parapet, which had a trench cut in rear of it, also flanked the approach to the breach. They had not, I found, commenced any countermines in the counterscarp, as had been supposed. Having observed the size and shape of the opening, the party retired.

On the night of the 12th it was determined, if possible, to destroy this gallery. Captain Taylor volunteered to conduct the enterprise, and I offered to assist.

About ten o'clock we moved out of the trenches with twenty men of His Majesty's 14th, under Captain Bertrand, and twenty Goorkhas, with a party of Sappers and Miners



carrying a mantlet made to fit the gallery, and sandbags some filled with earth and some with powder.

The men of the 14th were intended to be sent in advance, and the Goorkhas to be posted a short distance in the rear, while the Sappers were engaged in loading the gallery.

Captain Taylor and Irvine were a few paces in advance of the party, and on reaching the trench found it occupied by the enemy. The alarm being given, the men came rushing on in some confusion, and mistaking Captain Taylor (who was at that time engaged with the fellows in front of him) for one of the enemy, gave him fourteen bayonet wounds. One rascal peeled the skin off my shins, defending himself with the butt-end of his matchlock.

Both Europeans and Goorkhas commenced firing (which they had been positively forbid to do); the Sappers dropped the sandbags, and, finding it impossible to restore order, I was forced to withdraw my party.

[Extract from the Journal of January 12, 1826.]

MUHAMMAD'S HOURIS ANTICIPATED  
IN AVESTA IN MORE EXALTED FORM.  
THE SOUL IS .MET BY ITS APPROVING  
CONSCIENCE ON ITS WAY TO HEAVEN

BY PROFESSOR MILLS

(Yt. 22.7.\*) "At the end of the third night (after death) where does his soul abide? (8) There—at the end of the third night (the lights of dawn) will thus break forth—so it appears to him. The soul of the holy man appears stayed amidst plants of sweet odours—a zephyr seems wafting toward him from the noon-day quarter, and from a yet more southward\* (sic) point, and in the midst of sweet scent, sweeter than all other airs, the nostrils of that saint's spirit seem seizing that zephyr—and he says: "Whence is this zephyr which is the most sweet-scented which ever I have with nostrils seized? . . ." And his own conscience† appears coming to him (in answer) in the form of a maiden (the Huri), beautiful, majestic, white-armed, strong, tall, slender, high-breasted, distinguished, of renowned personality, high-born, of glorious seed, of fifteen years, with body as beautiful as the most beautiful in the world (daman loc. sg. neut.). Then the soul of the holy man speaking asked: "What maiden art thou who indeed art the fairest of the maids I have seen?—and she who was his own Conscience, answered: "I am, O holy youth, thy

\* A gem from the later Avesta. I think that a part of it is still current in Muhammadan Persia.

† His own Religious Nature—possibly "Himself," so practically; the word meant originally his "Religious Insight."

conscience (or thyself), thy good thoughts, and words and deeds—thy very own—thy person.” And the soul asks her: “Who hath wooed thee down hither, with that majesty, that goodness, that beauty, that sweetness, victorious—as thou seemest—an enemy of foes?” And she answers: “Thou has wooed me hither down to (thee) (ava),\* O youth (invited me)—with thy good thought and word, and with thy good deed—me thy true conscience, with my majesty, and beauty, as I now appear to thee—for when thou sawest one doing (magic) with the (evil) burnings, doing . . . and . . . and destroying faith . . . stopping the rain (?), and tree-felling, then thou wouldest desist, chanting the Gāthas and sacrificing to the good waters, and to Ahura Mazda’s fire, and contenting (with food and bed) the holy man coming from near and afar;†—and thou has made me, although really beloved, yet still more beloved, and although really beautiful thou has made me still more beautiful, and though really blest thou has made still more blissful; and, though really in foremost seat, thou has enthroned me still higher,‡ through these thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds . . . (V. xix. 30). Then that one made beautiful, strong, tall, comes with the dogs‡ (which guard the Bridge), with her charms (nivanaitish) dear to the sacred herd,\* with her (graceful) limbs§ (?), with her virtue, or her ‘wisdom.’ She gains the holy men’s souls as they ascend (accompanying [?] them), makes them reach over Hara-Berezaiti, the High, the Holy Mount, over the Chinvat,|| the Judge’s Bridges,

\* To the solemn feasts. See V. 30, 1; V. 45, 1. Recall where the Son of man says, “I was a stranger and ye took Me in.”

† Is this a trace of the custom which later became evil? The seating of a bride-elect in some conspicuous position.

‡ Recall Cerberus.

§ *Yaokhshti*—can hardly mean an abstract here—“with capabilities”; it might mean with her “fascinations,” powers to lock others to her. But see the word applied to the “joints” of the serpent, so I conjecture.

|| The Judge’s Bridge, which reaches from Mount Alburj toward Heaven, but over Hell; the wicked fall from it as they try to pass it; it narrows to a knife-blade’s edge, but to the righteous it becomes nine javelins wide.

and places them amid the band of the worshipped Spirits. Then Vohu Manah arises\* from his gold-made throne and says: "When, O holy One, didst thou come to us from that transitory world to this intransitory world?" . . .

(Yt. 22, 15.) The first step the soul of the holy man lifts and plants in the *Good Thought*, the second he lifts and puts down in *Good Word*, the third in the *Good Deed* (the names of Heaven); the fourth he raises his step and puts it down amidst the lights without beginning (the fixed stars?). Then a holy soul before-departed asks him, "How, O holy One, didst thou come away from the abodes with (sacred) cattle, from the birds with (holy) omens, from that bodily world to this spiritual world—from that transitory world to this intransitory world?—how long was thy salvation?" Then spake Ahura Mazda (God): "Ask him not what thou askest—of that cruel path, fateful, final, that path (already) trod—which is the going apart of soul and body. . . . Of the foods brought him—(give him) the food of the Golden Oil†—this is the (proper) food for the youth of good thoughts, words and deeds, of good conscience—after death: that is the food for the good woman forward in good thoughts, and words, and deeds, for the one well subject to the precepts, ruled by the regulations, pure; the Golden Oil! that is for her then after death (Ved. xix. 3). Contented he (or she), the good soul, passes on to the souls of the holy dead, to the golden throne of Ahura Mazda, to the golden thrones of the Holy Immortals, to the Abode of Sublimity, or Song, to Heaven, Ahura Mazda's Home, to the Saint's Abode?"†

\* We must not forget that at the later date of this piece the association of the name of Vohu Manah, at first the Attribute of God, then the "Good Mind" personified, had become quite familiar with that of the "Good Man." Though it never lost its original meaning, it was freely applied to the orthodox Zoroastrian; see also where our Lord calls Himself so often the "Son of man," and recall where He sits, like Vohu Manah, upon the throne of His Glory, and rewards the righteous for lodging the stranger, as here.

† Recall *Ambrosia* = Immortality.

‡ See also the Lecture printed in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for January, 1894.

## A "ZOROASTRIAN" PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY .

By L. A. WADDELL

THE excavations at Patna on the site of Asoka's classic capital, the "Palibothra" of the Greeks, as located by me in 1892, which are now being conducted by Dr. Spooner, of the Indian Archæological Department, at the generous expense of Mr. Rattan Tata, of Bombay, are yielding results of considerable importance for the history of Indian Art and Civilization.

Operating on a part of the site where my exploratory incisions of 1895 revealed fragments of a polished circular pillar of the well-known type of the Asokan monolith, and which I presumed to be fragments of the Asokan edict pillar described by the Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century A.D. as standing within the emperor's palace, Dr. Spooner found other fragments, but they were too numerous to have all belonged to one pillar. Thereupon by a series of excavations admirably conceived and carried out, Dr. Spooner discovered that these pillars formed a series of the columns of a many-pillared hall. "The building consisted of a vast pillared hall, presumed square, with stone columns arranged in square bays over the entire area, placed at distances of 15 feet, or ten Mauryan cubits, each from each. This much disclosed that the building was unparalleled in ancient India." What was the origin and use of such a building? By a happy inspiration Mrs. Spooner remembered having seen such a building.

figured amongst the pictures of Persepolis, and such proved to be the case.

The so-called "Hall of a Hundred Columns" at Persepolis, the throne-room of Darius Hystaspes, was found to present such a striking similarity to this Patna building, that the latter seemed to be practically a replica of the former.

The existence of a "Persian" influence has long been known in early Indian architectural art. In 1895 I found at another spot on this Patna site, 12 feet below the present-day level of the fields, a finely carved colossal capital, which, as noted in my official report of 1900, exhibited Persepolitan influence. In that report I wrote (p. 40): "This beautifully sculptured capital is of extreme interest, in that while it has a suggestively Ionic outline, it seems to exhibit a transition stage from the early Persepolitan to the Corinthian order. . . . Yet it is found at the very headquarters of Asoka himself, and by its artistic workmanship, and the depth at which it was found, is probably of Asoka's own age." So also a "Persian" or Persepolitan influence was remarked by Fergusson, by Gruenwedel in 1893, and by J. Kennedy in 1898, as noticeable in the capitals of the Asokan pillars and in small pilasters in several parts of India; and Sir J. Marshall found a fine Ionic Persepolitan capital at Benares in 1914.

According to Mr. Kennedy, "most of the details [of Indian art and architecture] were borrowed from Persia. The pillar, indeed, was the only lithic form Persia had to lend; it survives at Bharhut and in Asoka's monoliths, and it reappears in the caves of Western India. It must have been universal where decorated stone was used, but Indian buildings do not run to height, and the examples have perished long ago in sugar and oil mills. The borrowings in sculpture are much more numerous. The lotus and honeysuckle, the crenellations and mouldings, the conventional methods of representing water and rocks, are all taken from Persia. The sculpture is lavished chiefly

on doors and vestibules, and the most important single figures guard the entrances of the gateways in India as in Persia ; the sculptured risors of the Jamabgarhi monastery recall the inclined ascents to the palaces of Darius and of Xerxes" (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898, p. 284).

But now Dr. Spooner has discovered evidence of a huge Persepolitan building having been apparently bodily copied in India in all its essential details in the Maurosan and Asokan periods.

This discovery certainly indicates that the Median or Persian influence operated much more strongly and directly upon the early Indian civilization of the Asokan period than has hitherto been supposed. But Dr. Spooner goes very much beyond this. He propounds the theory that the author of this building—namely, the Mauryan dynasty, of which Asoka was the third king—was really Persian in nationality and Zoroastrian in religion, and he calls the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan era up to the epoch of Darius the "Zoroastrian" period of Indian history.

In support of his hypothesis, he brings forward many arguments, old and new, more or less plausible. Amongst others, he recalls the conjecture, of Buehler, that although no monumental evidence whatever has been found to substantiate the claim of Darius to suzerainty over India, it is not impossible that the northern script, known as Kharoshthi, made use of by Asoka in his northern edicts, was introduced by the Syrian clerks of that Achæmenian conqueror. Dr. Thomas also has shown that the Mathuræhione sculpture requires for its interpretation a reference to the façade on Darius's tomb. Sir J. Marshall, the Director of the Indian Archæological Survey, finds from his observations at Benares that Asoka presumably employed there Greco-Persian masons. And Darius made use of rocks and pillars for ethico-religious inscriptions some centuries before Asoka. Dr. Spooner disbelieves in any Greek influence having contributed to the Indian civilization of the early Mauryan period ; for had it been operative in Chandra-

Gupta's reign, it would doubtless have been referred to, he thinks, by Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleneus at the Patna Court. He says : "Any Greek touches we may trace in Piyadasi's (Asoka's) reign are later in their origin and possibly of Bactrian provenance—a view, I think, which Dr. Marshall holds. For Chandra-Gupta the evidence points to Persia only."

It will, however, require further new and more positive material proofs before such surmises can be definitely accepted. Let us hope that the further excavations which Dr. Spooner is undertaking may disclose those priceless gems for reconstructing ancient history upon a solid basis—contemporary inscriptions.



# INDIAN INDIA AND ITS RAJAS: THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

## I

THE title of my paper requires some explanation. I use the phrase "Indian India" in contradistinction to British India, French India, and Portuguese India, and to indicate that portion of India which is possessed by Indians and is ruled by them. I employ the word "Rajas" to designate the personages to whom Indian India belongs, and who administer it. In the course of the paper I use the phrase "Indian Ruler" as synonymous with "Raja," while I refer to the units of Indian India as "Indian States." In my book "The King's Indian Allies: the Rajas and their India," shortly to be published by Messrs. Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., I use "India of the Rajas" instead of Indian India.

Objection may be taken to the terms used by me. Some may contend that all India, irrespective of whether it is administered by Indians or Europeans, is Indian. Others may say that Indian India conveys the impression that it is a solid, compact block of territory, which it is not. Others, again, may claim that Raja is applied only to Hindu Rulers, and that it would be undignified to give that designation to Maha- (Great) Rajas, and incorrect to refer as Rajas to those who bear such titles as Rao, Maharao, etc.

No serious effort is needed on my part to answer these objections. The word Indian in "Indian India" is used by me precisely as the word British in British India is employed, to designate the nationality of the Rulers, and not that of the ruled. Indian in Indian Ruler is used by me in the same sense, to designate the nationality of the Ruler, and not to indicate that he rules over a part of India. No one ever objected to portions of India so widely separated as the Indian dominions of the Portuguese being called Portuguese India. French India is not one compact block ; nor is British India for that matter. I have the sanction of current use for the employment of Raja as a generic term. In my part of India (the Punjab), people speak of *Rajaun* or *Rajgan* (the plural of Raja) in the same manner that crowned heads are spoken of as Sovereigns. The term is not as widely used as it ought to be. Most Indians will agree with me that it is foolish to permit prejudice to narrow the application of such a word as Raja to personages professing a certain religion. We badly need an Indian term to apply to Indians exercising functions of sovereignty. Raja appears to be suitable in every way. When this is generally recognized, it will become current in all Indian vernaculars and dialects, and will be employed in all parts of India.

The terms that I use may not be ideal—ideal terms are not forthcoming ; but in my opinion they are not so objectionable as the existing phraseology. The portion of India under the governance of Indians is spoken of as "The Native States of India," while those who exercise sovereignty over them are called "Native Chiefs," "Native Princes," "Ruling Chiefs," "Sovereign Chiefs," "Protected Princes," "Tributary Princes," "Feudatory Chiefs," etc. These terms are all misleading, undignified, or offensive.

It is no news for you to learn that Indians very much dislike the word "Native." In itself it is an expressive word ; but it has degenerated. Uncultured

Europeans have brought it into such disrepute that Indians and other Orientals consider it to imply that those to whom it is applied are looked upon as belonging to an order of humanity low in type and civilization. The substitution of "Indian" for "Native" usually serves the purpose. The phrase "Indian State" is in much better taste than "Native State," and is as easy to comprehend.

Like "Native," the word "Chief" is in itself a good term. But Europeans and Americans have a habit of associating it with the leaders of "uncivilized" tribes in America and Africa. I object to the application of such a word to personages of the most ancient lineage and to Rulers whose ancestors, for many generations back, have extended their patronage to learning and art. In addition to being thus objectionable, the word "Chief" does not always describe a Raja. The Indian Rulers are not all heads of distinct clans. Even those who are leaders of clans are departing from the patriarchal form of government. The position that the Rajas are assuming in their administrations cannot, therefore, be described as that of a "Chief." I need hardly add that my remarks are directed against the employment of the word "Chief" as a generic term, and not against its application in individual instances where its use is *technically* correct, such as the Chief of Mudhol or Ichalkaranji.

On similar grounds I object to the word "Prince." The term is not generally used in connection with Sovereigns, but is applied to their sons and other male relatives. The only case where, to my knowledge, it is applied to Europeans exercising functions of sovereignty is in the case of those who hold certain principalities in the German Empire, such as Lippe, Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Waldeck, etc. The system of centralization of which these Principalities constitute parts, is now being execrated all over the world. The present war has shown it to be rotten to the core. It makes barbarians of the Princes, as well as of their Paramount

Power. I am sure that no Briton worthy of the name will ever wish to associate with the Indian Rulers any designation savouring of Prussianism; or wish to cast Indian institutions in a German mould. If any policy has been shaped on that pattern in the past, now is the time to revise it. At any rate, as far as I know, the word "Prince" is now generally used in connection with the male relatives of Sovereigns. It should not be applied to Indians who rule in their own right and name. It must be remembered that some of them carry on their administrations without any, and many without much, British intervention. Some of the powerful Rulers like the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir govern a larger area than that of countries in Europe. Some, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, hold sway over a larger number of subjects than, for instance, the Queen of Holland.

The phrase Protected Prince is technically correct as regards the foreign relations of the Rajas, but it is misleading to those unlearned in diplomatic phraseology. In any case, it expresses only half the truth; it implies that the British protect the Rajas, but there is nothing in it to show the fact that the Rajas contribute towards the security of the Empire. It is difficult for me to imagine that any Briton would wish to employ this term after the whole-hearted and enthusiastic aid that the Rajas have rendered to the British Empire during the present crisis.

I do not wish to trouble you with figures,\* but I may state that the numerical strength of the Army in the employ of the Rajas, compares very favourably with the strength of His Majesty's forces in India. The officers and soldiers of the Rajas belong to military clans, which have distinguished themselves in the past. Their fibre is tough. Their spirit is indomitable. Their morale is unexcelled. The genius for generalship, the desire and ability to master tactics, are not wanting. The armies of the different Rajas vary in efficiency, but improvements are being made, and so long

\* See my "India's Fighters," pp. 79-139.

as the British are willing to co-operate with the Indian Rulers I do not see why all the soldiers employed by the Rajas should not become as efficient and as well-equipped as their Imperial Service Troops, which are known to be as good as any body of soldiers belonging to any Power.

The subjects of the Rajas number from seventy to eighty millions, according to whether or not certain States, like Nepal and Bhutan, are considered parts of Indian India, which, according to my estimate, has an area of 850,000 square miles. This population has not been subjected to the provisions of a rigorous Arms Act, as the inhabitants of British India have been for more than a half-century. A considerable portion of it is descended from fighting stock, and much of it is familiar with the use of arms. I do not know of any unit of the British Empire, with the exception of British India, which can supply as many soldiers to fight for the Empire as can Indian India.

We must not forget that some of the Indian Rulers are bound by treaty to aid the British in crises. But the deep attachment of the Rajas to the British Sovereign makes engagements almost superfluous. One need only cite the example of a Maharaja, who is over three-score-and-ten years of age, and that of another, who is still in his teens, coming to the front to fight for the King-Emperor. The presence of so many of the Rajas in the firing-line demonstrates that they are not only content with merely being "protected," but that they are eager to do all that they can to protect British liberties.

The strength of the forces that the Indian Rulers can array against the common enemy, and the efficiency of their officers and men, largely depend upon what opportunities and what assistance the British give them to develop their military resources. My belief is that the readiness and enthusiasm with which the Rajas have contributed men and money during this crisis will revolutionize the military policy of the British towards Indian India. I expect that in time

to come the Rajas will be able to place at the disposal of their King-Emperor armies whose numerical strength and efficiency will daunt any foe, no matter how powerful.

The term "tributary" cannot be applied indiscriminately to the Rajas. Many of the Indian Rulers do not pay tribute to the British. Some of them actually receive tribute from others.

If the European test of feudalism is applied to those who possess parts of Indian India, it will be found that very few of them are in possession of States which were conquered by the British and given to them. Portions of only a few States consist of territory bestowed upon them by the British. In one case a Maharaja has been given an estate, which does not form a part of his State (Kapurthala), and which yields revenue to him, but is not under his rule. If the word "feudatory" is not employed in the sense in which it is generally understood by the British, it should either be discontinued, or should never be used without an explanation as to what sort of feudal tenure it indicates.

If English terms are at all to be applied to the Indian Rulers, I contend that they must be dignified phrases. Courtesy and expediency alike demand that. The very fact that the Indian Rulers are so situated that, no matter how deeply their susceptibilities may be wounded by the application to them of undignified terms, they cannot enter the public arena, or depute agents to espouse their cause, ought to be enough to influence those, who consider themselves to be cultured, to refrain from consciously or unconsciously offending in this respect.

Some persons may tell me that the phraseology to which I object has been designed, and is employed, merely to differentiate the Rajas and their States from the King-Emperor and British India. In this age of quick communication, and the popular press, who is so ignorant as to confuse any Raja with the King-Emperor? Who is so simple as to confuse the government of any Indian State with that of British India? I cannot conceive

of any logic which would convince me that, in order to avoid confusion, it is necessary to apply objectionable terms to Indian Rulers, their Territories, and their Governments.

Some persons would carry this policy of differentiation to such a length as to proscribe the use of such inoffensive English words as government, court, throne, crown, etc., in connection with Rajas. I certainly would prefer Indian terms that have the merit of dignity to derogatory English words. I, for one, make a practice of using Indian terms of sovereignty wherever possible.

It is not always practicable, however, to use in British and foreign publications, Indian terms, for some of them are not generally understood. Let me give you an illustration. Some time ago an English writer used the term "Durbar" in place of "Government" in a popular London magazine. More than one reader puzzled over the word. The only meaning that it conveyed to persons who did not possess special opportunities was that of an Imperial assemblage, such as the Delhi Durbar. Not one of them knew that it is the policy, in certain circles, to avoid the use of the word "Government" in connection with the administration of an Indian Ruler.

The proscription of English terms is liable to be considered to be designed to lower the status of the Rajas ; and such a suspicion is likely to rouse a spirit which does not make for amity and good-will. If you grudge applying certain words to certain personages, they are likely to insist that those words to which they have every right shall be applied to them. One case in particular rises in my memory. The Agent of the British Government persisted in using the word "Durbar" in his communications addressed to the Raja to whose Court he was attached. The Indian Ruler suspected that offence was intended, and he consequently used the word "Government." The British agent might have explained that he resorted to the expediency of restricting the word "Govern-

ment" to the administration which employed him, and using the term "Durbar" for the Government of the Raja in order to make his meaning clear and to avoid much repetition of words. But once suspicion is aroused such points are not appreciated. The dictates of diplomacy are clear: avoid using expressions which are wrong, offensive, or even liable to be misinterpreted.

I have devoted a large part of my paper to the discussion of terms. My excuse is that the subject is of great importance.

During recent years the use of many objectionable words and phrases has been discontinued in British India. For instance, the Government of India has issued instructions that the word "Native" should be avoided wherever possible. Reforms such as this need to be carried further. The practice of using the word "native" and other undignified terms in connection with Rajas should be stopped.

## II

Happily, petty-mindedness does not govern the relations between the Rajas and the British. Generosity and goodwill regulate their intercourse.

Causes of irritation, however, arise. Nothing else could be expected, considering that most Indian States are surrounded by British-Indian territory, and that, in many cases, the villages of a State are interspersed with those under British administration. But disputes about boundaries and about customs and extradition, roads and bridges, irrigation canals, drainage, etc., are as a rule easily and satisfactorily adjusted. The reason for this is that the Rajas generally recognize the justice of the British claims. Even if they consider that their interests are adversely affected, they are willing to drop their contention in order to preserve friendly relations. There are times when Indian Rulers make concessions which involve a loss, believing that, by so doing, they will contribute towards the advancement of India in general or of the British Empire.

It is my firm belief that the chance of irritation arising



out of inter-governmental dispute would be greatly lessened if the machinery whereby such settlements are arranged were improved. At present the British Government acts both as a party to the dispute, and as an arbitrator. It conducts its investigations through its political agents and arrives at its decisions secretly ; not in open court. These are anomalies which are contrary to the spirit of our age. They should disappear. I hope that in the near future a commission consisting of British officials and eminent Indians, all men of proved worth and possessing, if possible, considerable judicial training, will be constituted to settle disputes that may arise between the British and the Rajas, and also between Rajas and Rajas.

The proposal that I am making is by no means new. I am acquainted with the arguments that are urged against it. It is contended that the Indian members of a Joint Commission would form a clique and would always oppose their British associates, and would invariably side with the Rajas.

Those who make such assertions do not know the character of the eminent Indians who alone would be appointed to serve on such a commission. They fail to realize that, above all, they are men of conscience and honour who would decide the issues before them strictly on their merits. I refuse to believe that they would, in all circumstances, combine to oppose their British associates, in order that a Raja might be favoured, and an adverse decision rendered against the British.

It is well-known that the British wish justice to prevail in any dispute that may arise between them and the Rajas. British rule in India is said to rest upon justice. That is the only foundation on which it can rest securely. The British claim has always been that they have tried to be absolutely just in dealing with the Indian Rulers. Justice has nothing to fear in an open court, and from men with judicial experience or sound common sense. The secret departmental inquiries that are conducted in all circum-

stances cannot be justified in this age. They belong to the old order, and should be reserved for most exceptional cases.

The question arises as to what Indians should be chosen to serve on such a Joint Commission. I should unhesitatingly say that Indian statesmen who have distinguished themselves as administrators in Indian States should be appointed. The number of such persons is constantly increasing. Some of them have been called upon to hold important offices in British India and in Whitehall. I am afraid that many Indians who only know British India and live in ignorance of Indian India, have failed to realize the wisdom of the policy of installing distinguished Indians from Indian India at the India Office to give the benefit of their experience to the Secretary of State. I hope that before long such a representative will be introduced into the Council of the Governor-General. I make these remarks incidentally. The point I wish to emphasize is that experienced persons who have distinguished themselves in the service of the Rajas, and, on account of their ability and integrity, have established for themselves an honourable position in life and command great confidence, are available to act in co-operation with British Officials on a Commission to which may be entrusted the duty of adjusting disputes in which Indian Rulers are involved.

Arguments could be put forward both for and against the wisdom of placing some of the Rajas on a Commission of this description. Their inclusion would lend dignity to the body and give it weight; but the decisions that they would be called upon to make might cause complications for them. Even if it were deemed politically expedient to have Rajas on such a Commission it may be doubted if those who are best qualified among them to fill such an office could personally spare the time to discharge the duties that would devolve upon them as members of the Commission in addition to administering their States.

## • III

The Rajas as a rule are extremely busy personages. They are rulers in the real sense of the word, not monarchs who merely reign. Their duties are manifold. The collection and disbursement of revenue is carried on under their watchful eye. Projects of public works, schemes for the improvement of agriculture, the expansion of industries and the exploitation of mines, forests, and other natural resources claim their attention. The dispensing of justice in cases where serious crime or property of great value is involved requires their close scrutiny and sanction. The military department and the Army may be directly controlled by them.

In many States the public services have been so well organized that the Rajas have been freed from attending to routine matters ; but there, as elsewhere, the responsibility for good government ultimately rests on the Indian Ruler. If anything goes wrong the Raja is held responsible.

Many of the Indian Rulers are filled with the desire to advance their subjects, and to do so without exposing the people to any risks that can be avoided. They do not spare themselves trouble, nor do they grudge time nor expense to work out projects and plans. They eagerly consult Indians and foreigners and travel far and wide to gather the wisdom that will conduce to the progress of their subjects. Wherever possible they add to legislative enactments and Government resolutions the force of their personal example to introduce social, religious, and other reforms. The consequence is that most of the Rajas have become centres of progress. To mention instances would be to make invidious distinctions, and it would also compel me to append a long list of names. But I speak from personal observation.

I wish to lay emphasis on the point that the Rajas are as a rule busy personages, engrossed in administration and in initiating, remodelling, perfecting and carrying out schemes

to uplift the people that Providence has entrusted to their care. My reason for doing this is to try to banish the illusions which the people of the United Kingdom and other countries cherish concerning the Indian Rulers. They regard them as potentates who indulge in passion and pomp, and let underlings attend to the affairs of their States as best they may. Fables about their wealth and jewels, and about their dancing girls and concubines and Court favourites, fill the popular mind.

I have had a better opportunity than most persons to discover how difficult it is to make the British and the Western world in general realize that the majority of Rajas are serious-minded personages who spend most of their time and energy doing useful work for humanity. Time and again I have proposed to British and American editors who conduct publications that are read by the populace contributions dealing with the administrative life of the Rajas and the progress that they are making ; but in nearly every instance my suggestion has been over-ruled and I have been asked to contribute, instead, articles dealing with the pomp and pageantry of the Indian States. Had I chosen to do so, I could have filled a large portion of my literary life in responding to this demand.

I know of many Indian Rulers who dislike to have a fuss made over the jewels and wealth that they have inherited. I particularly remember one such instance. I had received a request from an editor for an article dealing with the magnificence of the Rajas. I casually mentioned the matter to the Indian Ruler with whom I was staying at the time. My reference to splendour touched his tenderest susceptibilities. His Highness asked me if I had seen any signs of magnificence or extravagance about his person or about his place. I reflected, but I could not remember to have seen any.

I admit that all the Rajas do not live such a simple life as you and I do. But the issue is not whether the Rajas do or do not live in luxury. The point is that the mind of the

average Briton is so full of notions about their magnificence that he is oblivious of the serious side of their lives.

I challenge anyone to say that the Rajas as a rule do not take their administrative functions very seriously, or that they shirk their governmental duties. Most Indian Rulers, powerful or petty, deriving large or small revenue, of the old or of the new school, work hard. Those who give themselves up to pleasure and let favourites manage the state are the exception.

Some of them take great pains with their work. I can cite, from my personal knowledge, instances of Indian Rulers who work most assiduously. I have seen some of them take up the routine of life before the sun had risen far above the horizon and not lay aside the cares of state until near midnight, taking little time for meals and for physical exercise. I venture to say that very few men, crowned or otherwise, devote more time or energy to their tasks than do these Rajas.

These facts about the Indian Rulers have remained practically unknown in Britain. Even now they are understood by only a few persons. It appears to me, however, that matters are altering in this respect. The whole-hearted and unhesitating manner in which many of our Rajas have gone to the front has touched the Briton's heart. His imagination has been captured by Maharaja Sir Pertab Singhji, who, in his old age, has fared forth to France to die, if death awaits him, on the field of action, fighting for the King-Emperor. One day last summer I was going out into the country on the top of a motor omnibus when I passed a cinematograph theatre on the outside wall of which was posted some pictures of notable personages. The portraits of the King and the Queen were there; so, also, were those of the Duke of Connaught, Lord Kitchener, General French and Admiral Jellicoe. Among the group was a portrait of an Indian which was apparently meant to be a likeness of the Maharaja-Regent of Jodhpur. I might have had some

difficulty in recognizing His Highness, but the remarks of the men and women who were riding on the omnibus would not have left me unenlightened for long. They all knew that it was "Sir Pertab's."

The other Indian Rulers who have come to fight have also won the Briton's admiration. The gifts of the Indian Rulers have moved him deeply. The rush of soldiers in the employ of the Rajas and of the Government of India to check the Teutonic tide that was steadily advancing coastwards has aroused enthusiasm.

As a consequence, the British are beginning to realize that the Rajas are men of flesh and blood, possessing fine physiques and expert military knowledge, loyally attached to the King-Emperor, and willing and eager to fight for him.

If the average Briton had been a well-informed individual, and had not so short a memory, he would have grasped these facts long ago. Our Rajas have fought before this, and on many occasions in the past have rendered great service to Britain.

In my childhood I listened to tales of what our Sikh Rajas did to save the day for the British at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny. Later these stories were confirmed by the histories that I read.

Some of our Rajas fought in the Tirah campaign. One of them was wounded.

Again, at the time of the Boxer trouble in China, three Rajas accompanied the expeditionary force, and saw active service in the Celestial Empire. I have been told that one of them insisted that Indian Rulers should be given the opportunity to go to China at that time. He went to Simla and asked the Viceroy and Governor-General to allow him to accompany the forces that were being sent. He was told gently but firmly that his life was too valuable to be thus risked on foreign service. But the Maharaja was obdurate. He declared that he would sit on the steps of the Viceregal Lodge until the Viceroy gave him the desired permission, and he got it!

The campaigns in which the Rajas took part on previous occasions, or to which they contributed men and money, however, were fought far away from Britain. The havoc wrought by the present war is almost within sight of the Strand. Most Britons realize the deadly peril of the Prussian ambitions, although I am afraid the conscriptionists would have us believe that they do not. It is only natural, in these circumstances, that the gallantry of Sir Pertab Singh and the other Rajas who have been or are at the front and the munificence of the Indian Rulers should have made a more direct appeal to their emotions. They are beginning to feel that the Rajas are not phantoms, but living men upon whose aid the British Empire can count in its hour of peril. They are as yet too busy to realize that these fighters, during normal times, are wise and beneficent Rulers, and that the Rajas, who, for one reason or other, have not been able personally to fight for the King-Emperor, are great and capable administrators. But the Briton has become better educated than he ever was before in respect of the Rajas, and I hope that his education will not stop at its present point. I trust that in course of time the illusion which hid the administrative importance of the Rajas under a cloak of magnificence will disappear.

#### IV

The war has shown the folly of those who entertained doubts about the loyalty of individual Rajas. It is generally recognized that the Germans counted upon these suspicions, and that they expected that when the crucial moment arrived, the disaffected Rajas would rally to the Kaiser's standard, and sweep the British out of Hindustan, or at least so complicate matters that Britain would not be able to go to the assistance of France and Belgium, because her hands would be tied with a revolution in India. It is regrettable to glance back and recall that the press in these Isles and in India were not above giving currency to silly rumours regarding the attitude of certain Indian Rulers on

more than one occasion before the beginning of the war. Happily, however, the rally of the Rajas to the British Flag during this time of stress has left no ground for fear, no room for doubt.

The present war has rendered a great service to Britain and to Indian India by revealing the true attitude of the Rajas towards the British. Some persons may say that the loyalty of the Indian Rulers, as a body, was never doubted. That is quite true. But to most Britons the enthusiastic friendship displayed by the Rajas at this juncture has come as a surprise, and as a very pleasant surprise. I believe that, when the present operations are brought to a successful issue by our united arms, a new spirit of co-operation will pervade the British-Indian officials and the Rajas.

I, for one, confidently expect that this spirit will effect important changes in the British policy towards the Rajas.

I have already mentioned two respects in which there is need for a change. I allude to my remarks concerning the advisability of giving a much freer hand to the Rajas in the development of their military resources than they have had in the past; and to the creation of a board of arbitration to settle disputes between the British and Rajas, and Rajas and Rajas.

In another particular the British policy towards the Indian Rulers needs modification. I refer to the policy of isolating one from another. When it was first designed and enforced, it was no doubt as necessary as the policy of greatly restricting the military powers of the Rajas. At that time the British could not afford to take any chances lest the Indian Rulers might combine against them. But fortunately we live under altered conditions. Now it has been established beyond cavil that the Rajas are not desirous of breaking away from the British. On the contrary, they are eager to shed their blood to prove their devotion to the King-Emperor. I once asked an Indian Ruler who was suspected of being disloyal to the British to explain the why and where-



fore of the suspicion. He replied that the imbecility of those who manufactured scares was at the bottom of the whole trouble. On being pressed, he added that were not his political enemies utter fools they would at least give him credit for having brains enough to recognize the futility of cherishing revolutionary ideas. The disaffection of a Raja in this day and age is unthinkable. All the Indian Rulers with whom I have had the privilege of conversing, without a single exception, have impressed me as being desirous of strengthening the ties that bind them to the British. I can conceive of occasions when disputes may arise between two sets of administrators, but I cannot conceive of disloyalty to the British on the part of a Raja. The necessity that existed for completely isolating the Rajas from one another has therefore disappeared.

Modern requirements demand that this political practice, which is not necessary for the safety of British rule in India, shall be at least largely modified. All purely technical business between neighbouring States, such as that pertaining to the extradition of criminals, should be carried on without the intervention of the British Agent, thereby saving time and inconvenience. It is a libel upon the Rajas to say that they would quarrel if they dealt directly with each other. Almost without exception they are men of peace and shrewd statesmen. In cases where the British have already relaxed the policy of isolation, the direct interchange of summonses, writs, etc., has not resulted in any serious trouble.

The time has come to carry these reforms to their logical end.

The isolation of the Rajas from one another is hindering the progress of Indian India. Different Indian Rulers are making different experiments. They ought to be able to confer with one another and to compare notes, to benefit from the experience of one another, to save themselves the trouble, expense and loss of time involved in trying schemes which have failed, and in working out plans which have

already been perfected. At present such information travels about in an indirect manner, and much time and detail is lost in the process. It would be infinitely better if friendly meetings were to be held periodically at which Rajas could confer with one another on matters pertaining to the progress of their States and subjects.

There is also much need for the Rajas and high British officials to meet annually or oftener, to learn from one another how best to promote the interests of the people entrusted to their care. Private interviews serve this purpose at present; but their limitations are fully recognized by all those who are experienced in such matters.

I would also urge upon the British nation, and upon British Colonials, the necessity of utilizing the wisdom and experience of the Rajas. Representative Indian Rulers should have a place in the Imperial Conference. To my mind, the organization that controls the destinies of the Empire from London will never be complete until Rajas are represented in it.

If Britons could only realize it, they have no stauncher friends than the Rajas. The Indian Rulers have shown every desire to co-operate with the British. They have helped the British to fight the anarchical movement which of late has taken root in British India. They have come forward with one accord to fight Britain's battles. They have surrendered and are surrendering cherished privileges so that Imperial communications and other Imperial necessities may not suffer. Such friends deserve warm gratitude, and they should be given every opportunity to develop all the resources which they possess in men and material wealth.

I have put before you a few suggestions. In the time at my disposal I could not give you statistics or essential facts appertaining to Indian India and its Rajas; these have been set forth in my work, "*The King's Indian Allies: The Rajas and their India*," shortly to be issued, to which those interested may refer. I have, however, sought

to direct your attention to points which need the most earnest, the most careful consideration of all those who have the well-being of India and of the Empire at heart. My proposals are made in no dogmatic spirit. They are suggestions which may serve to elicit interesting discussion.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, November 15, 1915, at which a paper was read by Saint Nihal Singh, Esq., entitled "Indian India and its Rajas: Their Relations with the British." Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis Young-husband, K.C.I.E., LL.D. (Hon.), occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Richard Amphlett Lamb, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederic Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., Mr. J. G. Cumming, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, General F. H. Tyrrell, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Lady Grierson, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mrs. White, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Miss Edith Bashford, Mrs. and Miss Hastings, Mrs. Garling Drury, Miss Bromhead, Mrs. Kinnier-Tarte, Mr. Massey, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, Mr. M. Zahuruddin, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. R. P. Wilder, Mrs. Hall Simpson, Mr. Sampuram Singh, The Rev. Mr. MacInnes, Miss Webster, Mr. and Mrs. James McDonald, Miss Powell, Mr. J. D. Nicholson, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mr. Eric Hope, Mr. J. Chalmers, Mr. G. Mansukhani, Mrs. Geering, Mr. C. E. Goument, Mr. M. T. Khaderbhoy, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. B. N. Bhose, Miss Hopley, Mr. G. T. Miller, Mrs. Presbury, Mr. K. H. Ramayya, Mr. D. Keith, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. D. G. Singh, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Lupton, Mr. S. M. Dikshit, Mr. M. Hassanally, Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Westbrook, Mr. Hormusji Dubash, Captain and Mrs. Bane, Mr. W. Hawkins, Miss Parkes, Miss Ross, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mr. J. S. Cotton, Mr. E. A. Craven, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. E. H. Hare, Mr. C. E. Pollak, Mrs. Hewitt, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. J. Gordon, Mr. M. Shafi, Mr. D. M. Lala, Mr. F. H. P. Latham, Mrs. Greathed, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Chaplin, Mrs. Little, Miss Gwynne, Mr. B. B. Varma, Miss Gearon, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Chairman called upon the lecturer to read his paper, and the lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think there is any subject upon which it is more difficult to generalize than upon the subject

of the relations of the Ruling Chiefs of India with the British Government, because their States present such an extraordinary variety; and it is not until you come into actual contact with them that you realize how great that variety is. There is variety in the populations of these States, which number several hundreds, although I do not now recollect the exact number. There is variety of race, and variety of religion. You have States like Hyderabad, with over 11,000,000 of people, and you have small States upon the frontier with only a few hundreds of inhabitants. You have States ruled by Hindoos with the majority of inhabitants Muhammadan, and you have States ruled by a Muhammadan with the majority of inhabitants Hindoo. So that it is exceedingly difficult to generalize, and on the very first point on which generalization was attempted in the paper, the question of the title which should be given to them, he knew of an instance where the title "Raja" was used with reference to a Chief and he very much objected to it, saying that what he liked to be called was a "Thum." That shows the difficulty; but, on the other hand, there are some cases in which we can generalize, and one of these is that every one of these rulers owes his position as a ruler of the State to the fact that he is the legitimate successor of his predecessor, and that fact is due to the presence and authority of the British Government in India. (Hear, hear.) I will tell you how that works out in practice from my own experience with one of these lesser States now directly under the influence of the British Government, but which when I visited it was entirely independent. At that time it was ruled by a Chief—it was a little State on the very far outskirts of the Himalayas—who led a precarious existence by raiding his neighbours. He inhabited a very remote valley of the Himalayas, and he thought the Universe consisted of that valley and three other valleys, one inhabited by the Emperor of China, and the other by the Emperor of Russia, and the third by the Queen of England. That was what he considered the Universe consisted of, and of course of those four he considered himself the Chief. He had come on to the throne by murdering his mother and throwing his father over a precipice, and poisoning his two brothers; but he had still one half-brother remaining, and when I asked the local Mr. Asquith why this brother was allowed to remain, he said the only reason was that he was such a fool. However, it so happens that the Chief of those times is now an exile, and for the last twenty-five years this "fool" of a half-brother has been ruling the State. That was my first experience of these rulers. My second experience was in another State, close by, of an old Chief who had seventeen sons, and he died rather suddenly, and within a fortnight of his death there were only four sons left. The elder son had fled to us in British territory to ask our support, and amongst others I was sent up to support him. With this he succeeded in establishing himself as ruler of that State. During the time that I was with him he one day pointed out to me one of the remaining three brothers, and asked me if I had any objection to his murdering his brother. I said: "Well, it was not exactly within my duties to give authority for the murder of brothers of Chiefs." He said: "The fact is that if I do not murder him he will murder me." And so it turned out, that brother did, in fact,

murder him, and we had to undertake that Chitral Expedition to establish the present ruler of Chitral.

I have given these few instances just to show what in many cases would be the result if there were not some over-authority to recognize and authorize the legitimate heir to succeed on the death of the predecessor; and it is one of the fundamental facts which must be taken into account in considering the relationship between the British Government and the Chiefs of India. Each Chief owes his position and his security against rivals to the over-authority of the British Government. That is, I think, one way in which we can generalize. Another way in which we can generalize is this, that in our relationship with the Chiefs of India we cannot possibly be too considerate or exercise too much courtesy. It has been my experience throughout that whenever we have shown courtesy it has been invariably responded to with the utmost cordiality. (Hear, hear.) We secure not only the respect of the Chiefs, but also very often their sincere affection.

Before I ask other speakers to take part in the discussion, I should like to say how very much we in England appreciate the enthusiastic loyalty which has been shown by the Chiefs of India in this the greatest crisis of our time. (Hear, hear, and, applause.) When this great War came on there was not the slightest hesitation on their part. From the first, the Chiefs came forward and instantly gave their support to the British Government. Those who knew them were sure that this would be the case. As the lecturer has said, this was not everywhere recognized, but certainly now in England we all do see that, and we are highly grateful for what has been done by the Chiefs, who have acted up to their highest reputation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BIDDULPH said that he had spent many years in intimate relation with Indian States, and he thought the remarks of the lecturer should commend themselves to all who were interested in Indian States. As to the qualifications and abilities of the rulers to manage their own affairs, he could certainly bear witness in some cases to extraordinary talent for that. There was one typical instance he perhaps might quote—namely, the Maharajah of Bikaner, who was a most successful ruler; he knew of no man with a better knowledge of business, and who knew exactly what he wanted, and how things should be managed. Then there were others, of course; there was His Highness of Gwalior, and His Highness the Nizam, and His Highness of Mysore, just to select a few generally who had done great credit to the instruction and education they had received, some of them from one of the Chiefs' colleges where excellent public school manners and customs had been introduced.

Then as to the military forces, he would like to say their number was not in any way limited by the desire of the State concerned. Each was most anxious to supply all they possibly could. It was a question of means, and he personally knew of a State where, in spite of representations that the numbers of troops kept up for the purpose of Imperial service were more than the resources of the State could stand, every opposition was raised to suggestions of a reduction, and although they were spending more money

than they ought to have been doing, they preferred this to diminishing their loyal contribution or lowering the prestige (*izzat*) of the State.

Then in regard to the Chairman's reference to the question of courtesy, that was a point on which he had always laid the greatest stress. Courtesy and good manners in relation to their Indian subjects was a matter of the greatest importance—(hear, hear)—because there were no other people he knew who had such a keen appreciation of etiquette. That applied even down to the servants, who all had their little ways and manners of etiquette. It was a point which should be carefully studied by all young officers who were brought into contact with Indians of any class. The Indian treated us with all his details of courtesy and etiquette, and it behoved us to treat them in the same way, exactly as they, with their extreme etiquette, treated us, and all young officers should have that fact instilled more or less into them when they first joined the Service.

Mr. SAMPURAM SINGH said that the question referred to in the lecturer's paper was a more or less psychological one ; the term " native " was never regarded by any nation as in any way derogatory, but there were words which in course of time became degenerated from their ordinary usage, and thus had to be removed.

With regard to the question of courtesy, he was of opinion that they were accustomed to too much of it, and became in certain ways too artificial. The Englishman, on the contrary, was more inclined to be too curt, but the Englishman's curt " How do you do ? " often meant a good deal more than appeared on the surface.

The lecturer had also dealt with the important subject of the question of a Commission to deal with disputes between the Rajas or the Rajas and the Government. This was a point which had been exhaustively dealt with by many thinkers, and although the suggestions were, to his mind, capable of improvement, he did not quite agree with the idea of a permanent Commission ; because, in his opinion, the relations between the Rajas and the British Government were diplomatic relations, and as such could not very easily be brought before such a Court. He thought they might have a kind of Constitution established on certain rules, by which those delicate questions might be settled. Then, again, it might happen that the Indian members of the suggested body might form a clique in opposing the British members. It had pained him very much indeed to find that that kind of impasse had already arisen in a certain instance with regard to such a body formed for the purpose of dealing with the question of Universities. There should certainly not be any suggestion of such cliques being possible where such friendly relations existed as between the Indian and British peoples.

Regarding the question of the Rajas taking part in politics, he thought that was a question which required very careful thinking out. They should beware of not falling into the old fallacy of thinking too much of themselves.

In concluding, he wished to say that on the subject of the Rajas having done what they had done in connection with the Expeditionary Forces, and the great sacrifices they had made, they ought not to forget the sub-

jects of those Rajas, who were the persons who had really enabled such great deeds to be done.

The CHAIRMAN : I will now call on Sir Krishna Gupta, who has had great administrative experience in India, and who has also sat as a member of the Secretary of State's Council here in England.

Sir KRISHNA GUPTA said he did not pretend to have any great knowledge of Indian States ; he had been to several of them, and had friends amongst the Chiefs, and he had had some official connection with a group of small Indian States, but not with any of the bigger States. The lecturer had been at some pains to try and find out a term which might be unobjectionably applied to the Chiefs of Indian States, but he did not think he had succeeded very well, as the term " Raja " would not cover a Muhammadan ruler ; for instance, the Nizam of Hyderabad would hardly like being called a Raja. Then, again, the word Raja had become a sort of title which was given to many persons who had no sort of territorial sovereignty. The expression used by the Chairman seemed to him to be the least objectionable.

With regard to the question of the relation of the British Government with the various Indian States, the discussion had been confined to a disquisition on courtesy. People in this country were so courteous to one another, that the fact that so much emphasis was put upon it showed that everything was not quite all right in India regarding the relations of Europeans and Indians. (Hear, hear.) The main question of the paper in which he was interested had reference to the appointment of a body to render assistance to the Government in regard to disputes between them and the Indian States. The question was not free from difficulty, but a proper solution of it was very necessary ; because, as things were, it was causing some irritation amongst the various Chiefs. The present procedure was open to the objection that it was more or less one-sided. The final decision must, of course, always rest with the Central Authority, but he did not think it would be amiss if it had the advice of such a body as was suggested by the lecturer, in order to enable it to arrive at a proper decision.

Finally, with regard to the value of the military services rendered by the Chiefs, he would like to say what a good thing it would be if the armies they maintained were brought to a state of efficiency so as to enable them to take part in the wars of the Empire. In some of the Indian States there existed armies that seemed to be doing nothing except eating their own heads off, as it were, with ennui. All this was good material, and could be made available for use throughout the Empire. India was determined to help the Empire in every way—(hear, hear)—and had given expression to that determination, but unfortunately the people were not able to fully put that determination into practice ; that was not their fault, and it rested with the British Government to find a suitable outlet. There was no dearth of men in India, and there was undoubtedly a great willingness on their part to do everything to help the Empire in the present great struggle. (Hear, hear.)

Sir FREDERIC LELY said he had much appreciated the paper, the excel-



lence of its tone and its evident sincerity. The lecturer gave some time to the discussion of the use and disuse of certain words, and as they all knew words carelessly used might become political forces, especially with a sensitive people like Indians. He agreed as to the word "native," because logically it was not an accurate phrase to apply; there were natives in every country, therefore it would be necessary to be more explicit. Certainly, with regard to India, the most convenient form to use would be "Indian" alone. He would object, however, to the use of the phrase "Indian State," because that carried with it an implication that the rest of India was not Indian. As a matter of fact, the Indian peoples had a greater part in legislation in British India than they had in any Native State.

As to the statement regarding the policy of the Government of India being to isolate the Chiefs from one another, he thought the very reverse was the case. One of the corner-stones of the policy of the Government of India had been the establishment of special schools and colleges for the sons of ruling Chiefs, in order to bring the young men together and make them friends with each other, and thus give them in after-life memories such as bound together English boys who had been to English public schools. What had militated against common friendship was the old traditions of the Rajas themselves. He knew of one case of two adjoining Native States where the two peoples were homogeneous, and were ruled over by two Chiefs who had reigned for nearly fifty years, each in his own State, and yet these two old gentlemen had never in all that time spoken to each other. That was the kind of thing which had existed generally throughout the last generation. It was mainly a question of etiquette, but he was glad to see it was gradually passing away—largely as a result of the policy of the Government of India.

A gentleman in the audience said he had recently attended a certain lecture at which the statement had been made that when Peers were sent out to India on important duties they were considered a greater success than members of the Civil Service, and he would like to know if the Chairman could tell him what was the reason for such a state of things.

The CHAIRMAN said he could not quite answer the question put to him as to why Peers were more popular in India than Civil servants. He did not know whether that actually was the case or not, but in any event it hardly applied to the subject before them. He would therefore now call on the lecturer to make a few observations in reply to the various criticisms which had been passed.

The LECTURER, in reply, said he was much disappointed in not having elicited much discussion on the subject, which was certainly a debatable one. He would pass over the favourable comments and deal with the few objections which had been taken. Some of the speakers said they did not agree that the term "Raja" was suitable to apply to certain Indian rulers, but if they looked again at the paper they would see he had merely used that as a generic expression, and not as a term to be applied indiscriminately to individuals. He could not agree with Sir Frederic Lely's reasoning, that the Presidencies and Provinces of British India were more Indian than the "Indian States" themselves. He thought a State ruled by an Indian

is certainly entitled to be called an Indian State. Although he was aware that in some cases they did not possess the legislative rights possessed by British Indian subjects, yet the Indian States were ruled by Indians from top to bottom. The concessions made to Indians, when analyzed, were very small ; they had no power over the public purse, and had very little power of initiating legislation, and when they tried to initiate measures of a progressive nature, such efforts were invariably blocked ; but he looked forward with hope to the political development of British India after the war.

With reference to the question of armies, raised by Sir Krishna Gupta, he found that in some of the States he visited great steps were being taken to bring those armies up to modern standards, but it must be remembered that the opportunities of the Rajas were very limited.

As to Mr. Sampuram Singh's remarks regarding disputes between Indians and British, he did not wish to set up a judicial body which declared all Bills which offended against certain monopolies as unconstitutional. He suggested the type of body referred to by Sir Krishna Gupta.

As to the question of isolation referred to by Sir Frederic Lely, he, apparently, had not understood he referred only to political isolation, and not isolation of personal relationship ; they all knew the Rajas intermarried and went about from one State to another, to participate in ceremonies and other social functions, and he was very glad to see that certain checks which had recently been devised to curtail their liberties were not now in operation.

As to the question of the Chiefs' Colleges, as an educational experiment, he was of opinion that they were more or less of a failure so far as higher education was concerned, but he hoped the scheme now on foot at Delhi, to give higher education to the Rajas, would be more successful. He felt sure that as education advanced, and the Rajas became more liberal-minded, such unfortunate instances—which were of an exceptional character—as some speakers had pointed out would become more and more things of the past. India was not the only country where discord existed, as was evidenced by the present terrible struggle in Europe. The separate States in Europe ordinarily were able to transact their own business without fighting, and he was sure similar things could be done in India without outside intervention. Indian rulers had no objection to our authority so long as it was courteously exercised. In conclusion he wished to thank them very much for the very kind reception they had accorded to him.

On the motion of Sir ROLAND WILSON a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer for his paper, and also to the Chairman for his admirable conduct in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN suitably replied, remarking that in his opinion their chief thanks should be to the lecturer for his very carefully prepared paper.

The proceedings then terminated.

## IMPRESSIONS OF PERSIA AND MESOPOTAMIA

By J. C. ROOME

To sit at the feet of Sadi and Hafiz and then to visit Persia is to court the great disillusionment. Persia of the poets is poles apart from the Persia of reality. My disillusionment came in 1907 when one fair morning I set sail from Bombay. The chapter of disappointment began no sooner than the Taj Mahal Hotel had faded from view.

The British India steamer *Kasara* plunged into the heart of the monsoon and there were many on board who heaved a sigh of relief, when, after four stormy days, Karachi loomed into view. The respite from bad weather was, however, temporary. Before the *Kasara* resumed its voyage, Captain Chappell, the commander of the vessel, forewarned me of a stormy voyage to Muscat, and his forecast was literally true.

The coast-line of Persia, when it became visible, gave no tantalizing glimpses into Elysian bowers. On the contrary, they seemed to suggest the Forbidden Land. For miles there was not a vestige of vegetation or sign of human habitation; the seaports conveyed the suggestion of man's effort to create trade and cities where Nature intended there should be a waste. One could not help thinking that if the dreary wilderness stretching out before

him was Persia, then the anxiety of the Persians regarding the independence of their country was emotion thrown away.

The elements conspired again when I was about to set foot on Persian soil for the first time. The rain came down in torrents, and when, after nearly three hours on a country boat, I found myself looking across a stretch of water at the port of Bushire from the quarantine island, Bushire gave no promise of a paradise of poets. On closer acquaintance, it proved a picturesque town; an old-world town of quaint one-storeyed buildings, narrow, uneven, and tortuous lanes. From a distance, the buildings inexplicably took one, in imagination, to some ancient Greek town. One of them, situated on a protuberance of the land, might have been the temple. But for the symbols of trade, the steamers lying some miles out at sea, Bushire might have been a city of the past thrown up by some seismic disturbance.

Apparently the streets were never intended for any wheeled traffic as they rose and fell with whimsical suddenness. Mules and donkeys carried both men and their chattels from one part of the town to another. To ask for the address of an hotel was to excite ridicule.

Bushire, however, was not without its picturesque spots. The bazaar was a cameo of the East. Mohamed Hosein, the piece-goods merchant and philosopher, who swindled veiled ladies with a smile, palming off cheap German prints for good English cloth, was a reliable cicerone and a keen politician to boot. One could sit for hours at his shop with legs dangling over the footpath of the bazaar and watch Persian humanity haggling over the price of cloth, or buying bread, good wholesome bread and meat, at a baker's shop next door.

It was Mohamed Hosein's suggestion, that in order to see Persia, one should see it in company with a Persian, and it proved, in my case, a valuable suggestion. The Persian who became my guide, philosopher, and friend,

proved himself a man of great resources, but he regarded me at first with suspicion. It was only when he was convinced that I had no political ambitions in Persia that he took me under his care. A foreigner in Persia was, in those days, rather closely watched by the Consulates, and my guide, a merchant who travelled about a great deal in Southern Persia, was rather a political bigot and did not relish the idea of attracting the attention of the Consuls.

Anyway, my knowledge of Persian was a recommendation as far as he was concerned and he consented, after certain preliminaries, to allow me to accompany him. He placed two mules at my disposal and we started for Shiraz. For a journey full of incidents, the journey to Shiraz was a memorable one. There were, however, no encounters with highway robbers, probably because we travelled not as merchants but as men of modest means. Not even the Tangistani tribesmen out of Bushire thought it worth their while to waylay our petty caravan. Once across the plain of the south, a new Persia stood revealed, a Persia of towering mountains and precipitous ascents. How the mules negotiated some of these steep mountainous paths was a marvel.

If Bushire was a desert, Shiraz proved to be a paradise. Nature seemed to have made generous amends at Shiraz for its niggardliness in the plains of the south. On a moon-lit night, the nightingale still trills its passionate song in the gardens of the valleys of Shiraz, as it did when Hafiz caught its mystic note. There are no taverns, but the wine of Shiraz still flows freely and tempts as it did in the days of Sadi the preacher and the heretic.

It is in Shiraz, probably more than in any other town, that one realizes how time has stood still as far as Persia is concerned. It is in Shiraz that the Persian exhibits at its best the decorum of the East. It was at a *masha-ara*, an assembly of poets, in Shiraz that I had an opportunity of gauging the popularity of the Persian poets of old. About

thirty Persians in the assembly had come to the meeting to recite their verses and there were as many critics present. One of the latter expressed surprise at hearing of the popularity of Omar Khayyam in the West. According to him, the author of the *Rubaiyat* was only a minor Persian poet. What was amazing was not the familiarity of the critics and the poets with the works of their old poets, but the ease with which, even men who did not concern themselves with literature, quoted verses from Sadi, Hafiz, and other great poets of the country.

From Shiraz to Kermanshah, the journey was uneventful. The villages on the way were interesting, but more or less monotonous, in their architectural similarity, and they were all shrouded in the squalor of poverty. Kermanshah was only another Bushire with but slight differences.

If the dream of the charms of Persia is shattered by the reality, the disappointment is tempered by the vision of Shiraz, but in Mesopotamia the disillusionment is complete. The glory of Bagdad has vanished like a dream, and the greatness of Babylon exists only in crumbling ruins. To add to the traveller's cup of sorrow, the climatic conditions make life a burden. As a centre of trade, Bagdad, we found, was a city of considerable importance, but in other respects it did not come up to expectations. Even from an architectural point of view, Bagdad bore no evidence of the wealth of the Abbasid Khalifs. The buildings were not the palaces of the days of Haroun-el-Reschid that I expected to find. The bazaars were, however, still struggling against the ingress of new ideas and maintaining some of their glamour of romance. The shopkeepers also followed methods of barter and observed customs which must have existed in the days of the Khalifs. In some quarters, the hand of the town-planner had evidently been busy and there was some attempt at road-building. In other quarters, where the houses stood as they stood at the beginning of Bagdad probably, it was possible to find a setting for the tales of the Arabian

Nights. Seen from a distance, Bagdad, with its domes and minarets, still suggested a city of mystery. Even in 1907, the growing trade of the city was fast changing the mode of life of the people. The existence of what in the days of the *East India Company* were known in India as *Europe shops*, indicated the Bagdad of the future. Whether it will ever cease to be what it is—a city of pilgrims, and consequently a sanitary danger—remains to be seen. My Syrian host in Bagdad, however, expected to see the city transformed in his life-time into at least a rival of Smyrna. But he was equally optimistic of the future of the whole of Lower Mesopotamia.

The country along the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, as seen from the deck of a Lynch steamer, was, however, as unlike the granary of the world as possible. Howling wilderness on the 'one side,' and desolate tracts of land, with here and there date-groves, on the other, extended as far as the eye could reach. It was in the summer months that I saw Bagdad and Lower Mesopotamia, and I was told that it was in the cold weather only that Mesopotamia appeared at its best. I was, however, glad when I arrived at Basra, and shortly afterwards left for Karachi.

## THE ELECTIONS OF 1915

(TRANSLATION)

TWICE in 1915 have the Hellenic people been called upon to decide whether Hellas ought, in so far as she is able, to take part in this world-wide war, or to keep out of it, so far as she is able to do it. If we consider the magnitude of the present conflict, and how continuously it is extended every day all the world over, the actual resources of Hellas—whether participating in, or keeping out of it—are such as to engage serious consideration. Participating in the war, Hellas would have to contribute to the common cause her financial, military, and moral quotas. If she is to keep aloof, she must make sure that she will always be able to do so as far as she wishes. In February, 1915, the possibilities for her participation had been diminished, whereas in the autumn of 1914 she had every possibility in her hands. From February to September abstention was a matter within her control, but *after* September all possibility of abstention began to fail her; for this war, as we have already affirmed, is a vast conflagration gaining daily in intensity and development.

Hence it is now being realized, on all sides, that it is no longer in our power to remain neutral.

This opinion is expressed in the official publication of this (the Socialist) Party, dated October 9, 1915, pointing out how "it was highly probable that we should enter into the war, willing or unwilling, and thus have to forfeit the merit of a spontaneous intervention." Such a pronounce-



ment was then a great probability. Now it has become a certainty.

The verdict of the people in the Elections of last May was so decisive as to afford striking testimony of the superfluousness of even referring it to the country, when the feeling of the people had then been so well made known to all. From September, 1914, up to May, 1915, the feeling of the people remained sound and uncorrupted, embodying as it did the nation's unerring instinct of self-preservation. But after the Elections of last May this feeling was adulterated, and the Hellenic soul forgot its ideals; it misinterpreted its vital interests, and failed to see that the present occasion was the third stage of the work which it began in 1821, which it resumed in 1912, and which it was predestined to complete by participating now in this world-war.

We Socialists do not cherish that same great regard for the polls, generally evinced by people of plutocratic proclivities. We recognize the parliamentary form of government as an incident in the history of the working classes, of which we ought to avail ourselves, or which we ought to refuse to have anything to do with, according as it adapts itself, or fails to do so, to the interests of the Labour Class Ideal. Our firm persuasion is that the working classes must some day get rid of every other parliamentary and plutocratic institution; but such emancipation must be worked out by method and upon the basis of the recognition of fitting occasions.

The Elections of last May were not a measure calling for protest on grounds either of advisability or expediency. The electors were then all animated by unmixed feeling for freedom and a desire to continue the work of liberation begun in 1821.

But the case is quite different with regard to the forthcoming December Elections. The proclamation, which heralds their advent, strikes a note that fails in high purpose as compared with the message that bore the impress of Regás Pheraios. Last May Hellas began to oscillate

between remaining faithful to the Hellenic ideals (which Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, as well as the Prussian policy, had made it their purpose to stifle), and spurning them by truckling and burning incense to the traditional enemies of our national unity, fearing lest the Kaiser should give effect to the threat telegraphed to us—namely: “Woe to those who oppose my will.”

From that moment Hellas has not for one moment ceased to see in the Kaiser an enemy to be dreaded. Hence the idea of burning incense before his altar, due partly to panic-fear as the outcome of his threats, and partly to considerations of royal kinship. A consequence of this was the Gospel of Neutrality. But what a colossal error! As early as last May unceasingly we made no secret of our feeling, by pointing out that for Greece to remain neutral in this war was something impracticable, and that any effort at realizing such a Utopia would be nothing less than aiding and abetting the Kaiser.

Every effort on the part of Hellas, since September of last year, which tended to put off her participation in the war has been of invaluable service to Berlin. Who prevented Hellas from such participation in the autumn of 1914? It remains a mystery. What influence kept Hellas from falling in last February? The resignation of Mr. Venizelos. What has continued to influence Hellas' abstention later? The change in the feelings of the Greek people. In all three cases we have subserved the interests of the Kaiser and of Prussianism, and have indefinitely postponed the realization of organized Hellenic emancipation.

The principles inspiring our Socialist Party in its policy at home are to serve the interests of the people as a whole, through a democratic utilisation of all sources of wealth for the benefit of the whole nation. Even the war is helping to bring this principle home to everyone by imposing the obligation to commandeer the necessities of life for the benefit of the entire community. Socialism, exactly, is

summed up in this: *assured supply of the necessities of life* to every man and woman. While this is our policy at home, the view we take of the country's relations abroad is, likewise, based on democratic principles. Our aim is to help to merge the States of the Balkan peninsula into a democratic Commonwealth, and in this, too, we are assisted by the war itself, which is fatefully and clearly speeding us to some kind of democratic Confederacy, which will make it impossible for any one of the States to harbour designs of ascendancy over the rest.

The Hellenic Socialistic Class has no candidates in the forthcoming elections, and does not care about the success or otherwise of non-Socialist candidates. Although the number of Socialists in Hellas, according to reliable estimates, exceeds 15,000, conditions have not so far allowed of Socialist candidates standing for Parliament in anything like adequate numbers for serving the interests of the working classes. If we were to emphasise any special measure for meeting public exigencies at the present moment, we should press for the State requisition of a high percentage of the property of wealthy people, to enable the country to bear the expenses of the mobilisation, of the care of the families of soldiers, and of the war which is bound to come. To this matter I have called attention in our official publication of October 9. But even if the conditions, upon this occasion, permitted us to seek election, we should, as a Party, elect to stand aloof, exactly as the Liberals have determined to do. In fact, in this instance we happen to be at one with the Liberals in the policy imposed on them by the war. It is of Syndicalistic character, and such a course helps to promote the cause of democracy. But we go a step further than the Liberals; for we, as a Party, not only in the elections deprecate participation on the part of any candidate (standing for the ideals of Hellenic emancipation, of democratic principles, and of Socialism), but we also appeal to the right feeling of every working man, as well as of other citizens, to keep aloof.

wholly from the polls in December, persuaded as we are that for any Hellene to do otherwise would be to lend support to the *three traditional enemies* of our race.

We are against War, and we are striving that wars may cease. We are therefore against the Prussian world-policy—the very soul of which is brutal militarism, an attitude of mind which has led, in fact, to the present universal conflict.

We are against every scheme of conquest, and therefore against Bismarckism and Kaiserism.

Greece must not forget the war of 1897, which was engineered by Germany; nor the 300 Prussian officers who led the Turks into Thessaly; nor the curtailment of our independence for the sake of German financiers; nor the *arrière pensée*, the self-interested action of the Kaiser in regard to Cavalla.

We are for Hellas and for her future, and we consequently wish for a victorious Entente, for whatever Hellas possesses she owes largely to them, and for whatever she stands, or hopes to get, she is indebted to them.

What Hellene can remain unmoved at the mention of such names as Shelley, Byron, Milton, Codrington, Canning, Gladstone, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Michelet, Ruskin, Garibaldi, and a host of others, English, French, Russian, and Italian, without the support of whom the struggles of the Hellenic race would have been fruitless?

We are for Greece's immediate co-operation with the Entente, because we wish that she should wash off the stain of her repudiation of the Serbian treaty.

We are anxious for the preservation of Hellenism, and therefore we wish that it may do its share in striving for the triumph of Freedom, which Germany threatens to abolish. It is our conviction that her speedy co-operation with the Entente will prove a sheet-anchor to our country, for the Allies are fighting for European independence.

We are for Internationalism, and *therefore* we are against the Reichstag Socialists, who have broken faith with

Socialists by taking the Kaiser's side and deserting the cause of the working classes.

We are for the Entente, because we are for Hellenism and for Democracy.

By co-operating with the Entente we shall be on the side of the victors ; for Germany's plans of conquest against Paris, Calais, and Russia have been foiled one after the other, as also are doomed to failure her designs on Constantinople.

We wish for the defeat of the Teutonic States, because we are against Despotism in every form, and for the freedom of every nation.

Let, therefore, our watchword be : " Keep away from the Ballot-Boxes."

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE GREEK  
& SOCIALIST PARTY.

ATHENS, RUE DE PIRÉE, 40,

*November 9, 1915.*

## SUPPLEMENT

### OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

OMAR KHAYYAM. Translated by John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. With a Foreword by His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (*East and West, Ltd.*) Price 3s. 6d. net.

The modern reader can talk of books even when he cannot understand the delight felt by the man who forms a library and who associates books, not as objects of talk, but as companions, with every scheme of pleasure, like the bold Omar, whose first stroke in his picture of Paradise was

“A book of verses underneath the bough.”

All who can be “touched to fine issues” by the natural reading of beautiful verse will enjoy the finest harmonies of musical thought in Dr. Pollen’s translation, which is no paraphrase, but an exact reproduction in English verse of the Persian text of Omar. It is a fascinating exposition of the poem, throwing new light upon the poet’s meaning on many mooted points.

Dr. Pollen has translated the words of this noble song with the same delicacy and fulness of feeling as is shown by the exquisite singer, which must, apart from its music, sway the hearts of all those who read it. Not a few men and women have in their natures the delicate chords that will vibrate in sympathy with noble thought wedded to noble verse, but are unable to respond unless they are played upon by those who, like Dr. Pollen, know the melody well. He stirs us to that spiritual exaltation without which poetry cannot be appreciated.

To be able to discover the full beauties of immortal literature, and to convey it to others with such inimitable skill and charm, is indeed a grand achievement.

The power of Omar’s well-ordered words, tinted and softened by the gentle radiance of imagination, not only show the healthiness of his mental

attitude, but that he possessed those fine balancing qualities which are required for a thoroughly happy and successful life—sufficient hope to make the future seem desirable and the present a promising prelude, and sufficient sobriety of judgment and admission of the true bearing of facts to prevent him from cherishing self-delusions and vaguely expecting what is not at all likely to arrive; in short, so to use the future as to make his thoughts of it a genuine help, an incentive to ambition, yet not a lure to disappointment, a prompter of plans, but plans drafted by good sense and corrected by experience.

Omar believed that a power is in you that will raise you from your present position, and leave you at the end of life a successful man in comparison with what you were at the beginning. It is a thought that may be your worldly salvation or your greatest handicap, according as you realize or do not realize that it must be brought to realization by present exertion and that in itself hope has no fertility. Omar believed in the often-quoted words of the American poet which cannot be hackneyed out of their truth:

“Trust no Future, however pleasant;  
Let the dead Past bury its dead;  
Act, act, in the living Present.”

In his admirable Foreword to this book, which should catch the public attention and lead many into the pleasant paths of song, His Highness the Aga Khan says: “Fitzgerald succeeded in a remarkable degree in bringing out the spirit of Omar’s quatrains in his famous translations, which in some respects transcends the beauty of the original, but to achieve this end he had to diverge from the letter of the ‘Ruba’iat’ as well as from the sequence of the verses. Dr. John Pollen, in his more faithful translation, has accomplished a task of greater difficulty, and has done justice both to the letter and to the spirit of the original. In its simple and attractive garb the version now offered to the public, for the benefit of the Indian soldiers who are now laying down their lives for the Empire on the battlefields of three continents, deserves to find a place on the bookshelves of the numerous admirers of the poet in the English-speaking world.”

OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

THE GENIUS. By Theodore Dreisler. (*The Bodley Head.*) 6s.

“The Genius” is a very able and exhaustive record of the life of an American artist. Mr. Dreisler must surely be congratulated that no detail of circumstance in Eugene Witla’s career can have escaped him. There is no gainsaying his energy, acute vision and vigour of narrative. He has applied the method of the cinematograph to fiction.

But the cinematograph in fiction has its drawbacks. It lacks the quality which has popularized the picture palace—namely, pace. It took me days to read “The Genius,” and even now I feel I may have missed something. Mr. Dreisler, with his amazing talent for reproducing everything, over-estimates, I think, the nature of the demand which people want to have supplied in fiction. People on the whole do not want to know everything

about their real neighbours' lives ; it is not so much that they have not enough time, but that even the magnetism of actual or possible propinquity does not carry them enthusiastically through real biography, and what consuming curiosity there is unsatisfied by the actual does not yet require novelists to put themselves to such Titanic labours as those which the author of "The Genius" has shouldered. I may be deficient in curiosity, but I could have dispensed, for instance, with the details of an obstetrical operation.

Eugene Witla was an artist of genius, with consequently an artist's inability to be bound by conventional morality in sex relationships. He was, moreover, avid for beauty, and these two facts give you the drift of the story. His numerous adventures are related vividly, thoughtfully, and lengthily ; but the solution of the last of these by the joint agency of Christian Science and obstetrics remains for me, in spite of Mr. Dreisler's evident familiarity with both these mysteries, a baffling conclusion.

I. C. W.

TOWARDS A LASTING SETTLEMENT. Edited by C. R. Buxton. *Allen and Unwin.* 2s. 6d. net.

"L'avenir est à qui le fait" is inscribed on the title-page of this volume, and at no time, we venture to think, can the quotation be more apt than at the present crisis in the world's history. There were "doctrinaires" of the French Revolution, cynics and enthusiasts who fervently thought that their principles would assuredly triumph at the final, and lasting settlement—only to have their hopes dashed to the ground by the green-baize-table ministers at Vienna, and there are doctrinaires now for the seeking—but they seem to shun the limelight and seek to imitate neither the prolixity nor the passion of their predecessors. And that is why, when the history of this war comes to be written, it will prove neither so romantic nor so picturesque as its great predecessor of a hundred years ago. The parallel of the great French War is well explained in one chapter, while of the others, "Nationality," by Charles Roden Buxton, is undoubtedly the most attractive. He points out that "a victory for the Entente would (assuming that the settlement were inspired by nationalist conceptions) satisfy the claims of the majority of these peoples, numbering in round figures 30,000,000. A victory for Germany, Austria, and Turkey, on the other hand, would make it almost impossible to satisfy any of them, with two exceptions—the Bulgarians of Central Macedonia and the Rumanians of Bessarabia, whose liberation would be more than outweighed by the continued subjection of their brethren in Hungary."

TALES BY POLISH WRITERS. Translated by C. E. M. Benecke. (Oxford: *B. H. Blackwell.*) 3s. 6d.

Of the contemporary Polish writers represented in this volume only Henryk Sienkiewicz is known in England, and for that knowledge we are indebted to an American translator. "Quo Vadis" has been read by the many; the great historical trilogy, "With Fire and Sword," "The Deluge,"



and "Pan Michael," by the few. These few know that Sienkiewicz is a novelist on the grand scale. Like Tolstoy, like Dostoevsky, like Dickens like Meredith, like Victor Hugo, he writes big books—books in which one can travel as in the world, books in which one can live, books not meant for the idle reader who wants to pass the time somehow, but for the industrious one who wants to know more than how a story ends. The example of Sienkiewicz's work here, "Bartek the Conqueror," occupies about a third of the volume. It is published very opportunely, for it deals with the experiences of a Polish peasant, from the province of Posen, serving in the Prussian army during the Franco-German War. Our poor Bartek, commonly known as Bartek the Blockhead, does not know why he is fighting the French. "What sort of people are the French?" he asks a fellow reservist, as they journey towards "the front." "How can I tell you?" his friend answers. "They must be like the Germans, only worse." At which Bartek exclaims: "Oh, the low vermin!" The effect of war on this simple man is described with pity, terror—and laughter. To be a Pole, it has been said, is in itself a fact of psychological importance. And when the Pole is Sienkiewicz!

There is a gulf of some width between him and the writers of the other stories, although there is a sense in which they, particularly Adam Szymanski and Wacław Sieroszewski, are more extraordinary. Their medium is more impressionistic, more in tune with modern theories of the art of writing; but they have not the same mastery of their medium that Sienkiewicz has of his. Still, Szymanski's "Sral—from Lubartow" is very near being a masterpiece, and one loves it for its unexpectedness. A Pole and a Jew fraternizing! A rare thing described with rare beauty.

Beauty indeed there is in all these stories, and, like the music of Poland, it is always individual. It must not be lazily called "Slav."

Miss Benecke has done her work well, if occasionally a little laboriously. We are glad that the very small number of people who can translate Polish has been increased.

I. C. W.

THE CALIPHS' LAST HERITAGE. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Mark Sykes, Bart, M.P. (Macmillan.) 20s. net.

The well-known author of *Dar-ul-Islam* has just presented us with a brilliantly written history of the country that is still the Turkish Empire, from the days of Cyrus to the capture of Baghdad by Sulaiman the Magnificent. The work is brought down to the year 1913, as the second part gives an account of five journeys taken between the years 1906-1913. These records are published as they stand in the diaries written on the spot. The whole is admirably edited by his wife, as through Colonel Sykes' absence on active service he was unable to see it through the press.

Professor Browne describes the author as "an acute observer, and singularly free from the prejudices which obscure the outlook of so many of even the most intelligent and conscientious travellers in the East."

Sir Mark Sykes himself, however, admits with engaging frankness his possession of antipathies and sympathies which must, to some degree,

colour his observations, which colouring his own confessions enable one to discount. The work is a most important contribution to existing literature on the subject just because of this honest avowal of personal likes and dislikes. We know just where we stand when he says, for example :

“Like the Yezidis and Armenians. the Circassians are another race with whom I cannot sympathize. The English view that because they build houses with a higher pitched roof, and wear tweed trousers, therefore they are more civilized, does not commend itself to me” (p. 391).

Other pet aversions are American missionaries and their converts, Turks whose veneer of culture has been acquired in Paris or Vienna—in short, Sir Mark Sykes detests most heartily all endeavours to Europeanize Orientals, and few, with first-hand knowledge of Eastern peoples, will disagree with his main conclusions.

At the present moment, the general reader is more interested in the actual status and conditions of belligerent countries, even though he may remember that an explanation of present happenings must be sought for in their past history, and some students would have preferred the two parts as two separate volumes.

The past historical campaigns of the Ottoman Empire often appear meaningless when dealt with by writers destitute of military training and experience. But when portrayed by a soldier like Colonel Sykes they become luminous, and one grasps strategic points and understands why the results were inevitable.

His journeys began in earnest on entering the pazirah, those plains of Northern Mesopotamia, the home of the Kurdish and Arab shepherd tribes and of Sinjar Devil-worshippers. His advice to would-be travellers in the East is of the greatest value :

“It is essential to divest yourself of all preconceived notions. Wipe John Stuart Mill, Omar Khayyam, Burke, Ruskin, Carlyle, and Bernard Shaw, out of your mind. Learn the Book of Job by heart for philosophy, the Book of Judges for politics, the Arabian Nights (Burton's translation) for ethics ; ride by balance, not by grip ; keep your girths loose, look out for rat-holes ; be polite and dignified in your conversation ; *don't* talk about the superiority of European civilization, and you will learn a good deal. If you adopt any other line of conduct you will very likely get into serious trouble.”

In brief, not only do in the East as the East does, but also think as the East thinks.

Most of the errors of diplomacy, past and present, are due to inability to see as others see—to put oneself in their place. And it is his large measure of this valuable quality that renders Colonel Sykes so vivid and so entertaining a guide in his 7,000 miles of journeying through almost the whole of Asiatic Turkey. In all these wanderings his guiding principle was that of “following his nose over those portions of the map, the whitest, or most rich in notes of interrogation and dotted lines.”

The work is not free from errors, due to over hasty generalizations, or to imperfect acquaintance with customs and habits of thought, and the modes of life of those with whom he has little sympathy. But we must remember he had no chance of revising the proofs.

Also, he seems to have formed altogether too low an estimate of the fighting capacity of the modern Turkish soldier and of the Ottoman armies now in the field—so low as to appear misleading.

In January, 1913, he writes :

“The Turkish soldiers of Constantinople are no longer the dogged, fanatical, disciplined men of Abdul Hamid’s day, but a mere horde of helpless, leaderless villagers, misunderstood and misunderstanding, with no more enthusiasm and hope than a chain-gang.”

Ten years earlier he found them “with clean underlinen . . . armed with German Mausers, alert, stoutly built and intelligent, and with ugly face.”

We must conclude from this that a decade must have wrought tremendous changes for the worse in the Turkish soldiery.

His predilection for Kurdish guides and sources of information sometimes misled him. One Sunday morning he had “an experience” which he trusts he may “never have again.” The Armenians were in church, and a boy wearing a cope was sent to Sir Mark Sykes “with the Sacrament in a towel!” Filled with horror, Sir Mark Sykes sent it back to the priest.

Any Armenian could have told him that what had been sent to him was not the Sacrament, but simply unleavened bread, *Nushkhark Mass*, which is distributed by a boy to all who enter the church, and is even presented to others outside, as a mark of respect. In the winter of 1913, when I attended service in the Armenian Church at Paris, I was honoured with the same token of friendship and respect, with which those far-distant Armenian brethren would have honoured Sir Mark Sykes—a gracious custom, a survival of the *Agape* of the early Christian Church.

If there be still any New Year gifts to make no more fascinating one could be selected, for those interested in the Eastern theatre of war, than this handsome volume with its excellent maps and comprehensive index.

F. R. SCATCHERD.

## THE FAR EAST

RURAL SANITATION IN THE TROPICS. By Malcolm Watson, M.D., D.P.H. (London: *John Murray*.) 319 pp., 8vo., illustrations, maps and diagrams. 12s. net.

In this volume Dr. Watson who has done extensive work in the Federated Malay States gives us “Notes and Observations in the Malay Archipelago, Panama, and other lands,” being records of his own work and of that of others, which he investigated in an earnest search for the best means to alleviate, and, if possible, to prevent malaria, yellow fever,

and cognate diseases. The book is dedicated to Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., whose discoveries in the field of tropical medicine are universally known. Some years ago Brumpt, in his *Précis de Parasitologie*, pointed out how the study of those animals, minute or otherwise, which beset man and other animals, had been somewhat scoffed at when Blanchard gave it prominence in his lectures. Times have changed, and since it has been realized that parasites, winged or otherwise, are responsible for the transmission of disease. Since it is known that the minute blood parasites are developed in the organism of insects which have sucked their embryonic forms from blood already affected, parasitology has become an extremely intricate science. But it is not enough to be able to recognize the parasites in the blood, or to name the pest which carries them from man to man or from beast to man; it is not enough either to handicap the development of the parasite in the blood of the victim, more than zoological knowledge or therapeutic ability are needed. Prevention is wanted; and prevention can only be successful if it eradicates the animal carrier—the *Anopheles* in the case of malaria, the *Stegomyia* in the case of “yellow jack.” Both breed and pass through their larval stages in water, swamps, old tin cans—any receptacle, however small, which holds enough water for the minute larvæ to feed on equally minute vegetable forms will do; a row of empty bottles planted bottom upwards as a border for a flower bed makes a pretty good breeding ground. Hence, surface water, sometimes clear, sometimes brackish, has to be sought for where the mosquitos are found, and when located it must be removed. Dr. Watson has been at pains to study on the spot the methods adopted in Malaya, in China, in America. He gives us his opinion of them, and of the prophylactic treatment with quinine bihydrochlorate, which finds favour with various schools and in various places. He discusses screening of houses and methods of drainage. Incidentally he tells us how *not* to measure splenic enlargement. Let it be said that throughout the whole work we see a practical mind. The author believes in the one and only radical cure: get rid of stagnant surface water and of sluggish streams within a fair distance of human habitations, and adapt your methods to the proclivities of the mosquito, whose habits as regards altitude vary with the species—anyhow, drain the land. It may be a big job, but it is worth doing, if life in the tropics is to be made worth living. In Panama the cutting of the big ditch has been successful only because sanitation has taken precedence over engineering. The unlucky Frenchmen who lost their lives in the Lesseps’ undertaking had none of the benefits of sanitation; they caught fever, without knowing how, and died. Had they succeeded in getting the canal finished before we knew anything of the *Stegomyia*’s habits, they might have made a shambles of Asia in their attempt to help humanity at large. Strange are the ways of Nature: the author quotes aptly a page of Lafcadio Hearn, Japan would prove an incubator for the yellow jack mosquito as for the ordinary *Anopheles* rather than alter a jot or tittle of its religious practices; yet, perhaps, some day the dead may have to go without their *mizutame*, or its water may have to be oiled—Japanese officials are pretty drastic in their ways. The book will be found captivating reading even by those who

have no special interest in sanitation, and perhaps none the less interesting amongst its pages are the conclusions, and the general considerations which end the book, they contain a searching question, and sound advice.

H. I. J.

## THE NEAR EAST

NATIONALISM AND WAR IN THE NEAR EAST. By a Diplomatist, and edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith. (*Oxford University Press.*) Price 12s. 6d. net.

The object of this book, which has been written at the request of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is to show the outstanding lessons to be learned from the events that have happened recently in the Near East. The author well succeeds in the end he sets before himself, and analyzes with lively interest the Balkan problem to which the present war has directed the attention of Western statesmen. He says with much truth that "Balkan politics can only be understood through a knowledge of the stage of development of the Balkan peoples." This lack of knowledge is being rapidly overcome, for Western statesmen now realize that the tentacles of the Balkan problem touch every country in Europe, and that the position of each State must be studied by itself, its past history fathomed, and its present position appreciated, before they can judge of its conduct. No statesmen are justified in singling out a particular deed and pronouncing it good or bad, and its doer guilty or innocent, regardless of its dependence on a series of others of which they know practically nothing. Each State should walk in the path best adapted to it, but there is no reason why every path should not lead toward the benefiting of the world in general.

"Nationalism and War in the Near East" is a book which bears the imprint of original thought, personal observation, and independent inquiry, and can be read with great profit by all those who wish to be enlightened on this complex problem.

OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF ANCIENT EGYPT. By Lewis Spence. (London: *Geo. Harrap.*) 370 pp., 16 colour-plates and tone blocks. Price 7s. 6d. net.

STORIES OF EGYPTIAN GODS AND HEROES. By F. H. Brooksbank. (*Harrap.*) 256 pp., colour-plated. Price 5s. net.

Messrs. Harrap have laid the general reader under a debt of gratitude with their charming series of myths and legends of various countries. The present book by Mr. Lewis Spence is a worthy addition to this ever-growing shelf; it evinces learning, not mere compilation, however bolstered with literary abilities, as in some other volumes; it is well illustrated by Evelyn Paul with pleasant water-colours adequately reproduced; finally, its tone illustrations are a welcome set of the gods and goddesses of Ancient Egypt, photographed from original sculpture. Need anything more be said? The author has brought his anthropological knowledge to bear upon the legends, and in some cases he has felt constrained to disagree from

authorities whose names he usually conceals. We do not presume to arbitrate between him and his opponents; we are glad to see that he gives sympathetic magic its due on page 59. But whilst we delight in most of his work, we cannot altogether admire the essay on Art. Truly one short chapter of fourteen pages is too short to deal with Egyptian art in the most elementary way; but then, why sacrifice even a few lines in comparisons with the Far East, and particularly why fall then into ghastly mistakes? Where did the author find that Japan derived her painting from China about the *fourteenth* century? and why bring Hokusai, Utamaro, Hiroshige, Yeizan, and Toyokuni, of all people, into this chapter? Page 311 is a blot on a fair landscape, and we hope that in a second edition it will be revised, amended, for it has been weighed and found unworthy; note also that the third sentence on page 6 is duplicated verbatim later on. And may we call the artist's attention to the plate opposite page 202, and bashfully inquire why the right leg of the central dancer presents such quaint anatomical peculiarities? Is it an awkward line of the drapery or elephantiasis *in posse*? The index is a marvel of comprehensiveness. Of the second book little can be said but that it will make an excellent gift-book to whet the appetite of the reader for the more learned work of Mr. Spence; some of the colour-plates are common to both works. J.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF NUBIA, 1909-1910. By C. M. Firth. (Cairo: *Government Press*.) I. E. 2. 1915, viii, 180 pp. 41 plates and 2 plans. 225 groups of line figures in text.

This handsome publication refers to the exploration of the Dakka cemeteries, and forms the third report of the survey. It suffers in some respects from the retirement of Dr. Reisner, gone to Harvard, and of Dr. Elliot Smith, now Professor of Anatomy at Manchester, whose portion of the work will be published at some later date, when the anatomical evidence is more complete. The text of this book gives a general outline of the potter's art and the burial methods of the periods represented in the various cemeteries. It confirms the fact pointed long ago in America by Holmes that primitive pottery shapes and ornamentation were influenced by or derived from basket-work and natural vessels, gourds, nuts, and hollowed wooden pans. Comparisons are made between the predynastic, old kingdom, and "C-group" systems of burial with considerable detail, the C-group standing altogether alone in many respects; they seem to have been a homogeneous race of Hamitic type with a negroid strain, which may be represented nowadays by such men as the Galla, Somali, and Masai, and three hypotheses are discussed regarding the probable origin of the C-people before they entered Nubia.

The catalogue of objects is extremely thorough, and the plates excellent specimens of collotype, showing *in situ* and otherwise almost all the objects mentioned in the text—steatopygous dolls, rings, charms, mirrors, beads, vessels, and a gruesome relic in the shape of a bronze arrow-head embedded in a vertebra. Nearly one hundred scarabs or seals are reproduced, and two colour-plates give a good idea of the pottery of the C-group, with incised coloured patterns imitating basketry. S.

## INDIA

THE GREAT WAR OF ANCIENT INDIA. By Thakur Rajendra Singh. (Allahabad : *Indian Press.*) Price Rs. 1.8.

Thakur Rajendra Singh presents a very readable summary of the Hindu epic, the "Mahabharata." He has condensed the story of the Great War of *Ancient India*—which occupies in Mr. P. C. Ray's translation nine bulky volumes—into about two hundred pages, with the result that he has had to omit many incidents. As a simple narrative of the plain facts of the war of the Kauravas and the Pandavas, the book will be read with interest. In his preface, the Thakur draws a parallel between the war of the "Mahabharata" and the "Kurukshetra of Europe" and the Duryodhana, the greedy Kaurava, and the Kaiser, but, curiously enough, he omits in the book itself the interesting incidents, narrated with a wealth of poetic imagery in the original, describing the world-wide character of the Hindu war. He does not tell us that, according to the writer of the epic, the Kings of Greece and Persia and the Emperor of China are said to have been present on the battle-field of Kurukshetra, not far from Hastinapur, as allies of the Kauravas or the Pandavas. The parallel between the old war and the new would have been complete had the Thakur also described how Indian diplomacy went to work, and how the King of Persia found himself ranged on the wrong side on the battle-field. One feels also that the death of the veteran Bhishma has not been described as graphically as poetic justice demands. Probably there are few incidents so pathetic in the "Mahabharata" as the last fight of the brave Bhishma. A warrior of warriors, one who had practically trained most of the youthful warriors on both sides, Bhishma died as he had lived, a plain, honest soldier, and among the mourners on the battle-field were Arjuna and Yudhistira, the leaders of the Pandavas. One cannot, however, blame Thakur Rajendra Singh for avoiding many of what appear to be poetic details of the great war. He has tried to give a brief and connected account of the war, and he has succeeded admirably.—J. C. R.

THE CENSUS OF INDIA : AN ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM. By M. Subraya Kamath. (Madras : *Theosophical Publishing House.*)

Mrs. Annie Besant writes a brief foreword to the book, commending it "to the thoughtful study of the young politician and to the library-table of the older politician, as a most handy and valuable book of reference." Mr. Kamath has taken the statistics from the official Census Report, but in pointing the moral of the figures, Mr. Kamath joins issue more than once with Mr. Gait, the officer who was responsible for the collection of the statistics. While admiring Mr. Kamath's method of treating the dull array of census figures, one cannot help thinking that he does not do justice to the census officers when he says that the Census Report is "quite full of details which become more distasteful by monotony, and the subjects dealt with are too varied and often even uninteresting." As a matter of fact, the Census Report is the only blue-book issued by the Government which any-

one can take up in a train instead of a novel and find himself lost in admiration of the system which enabled the enumerators to secure the statistical information that they did, and the commentators to make the dry figures eloquent, considering the disadvantages under which they laboured in India. Creditable as is Mr. Kamath's work, which in itself has been made possible only by the work of the census officers, he has not in places *been able to look at the statistics from an impartial point of view, and on other occasions he has made statements which are not supported by evidence.* For instance, when discussing the decrease among Hindus and the increase among Christians, he unnecessarily blames the Christian missionaries for taking undue advantage of the weakness of the Hindus, and then while he controverts Mr. Gait's statement that the decrease among Hindus is due to more Hindus accepting Christianity every year, he asserts that "the total loss to the Hindu faith from this cause cannot have exceeded two millions at the highest," but on the very next page he says that, "in spite of Muslim rule for over a thousand years, the Hindus formed 80 per cent. of the population of this country in 1870, but now they are not even 70." Again, in the chapter on Mother kin, Mr. Kamath states that the system of *ghar-jamai* (not *jawai*, as he puts it) is more or less common in Coorg, while in reality the system is practically unknown in that part of India.—J. C. R.

WAQAYA-I-NIAMAT KHAN-I-ALI. Edited by Otto Rothfeld, B.A., F.R.G.S., I.C.S. (Calcutta : *Board of Examiners.*)

Mr. Rothfeld's edition of the "Waqaya" bears the impress of conscientious scholarship. He has taken great pains with the different readings, and the text as it stands is free from the puzzling errors one invariably found in the ordinary editions. Nawab Syed Hussein Bilgrami and Mirza Muhammad Taqi are two Persian scholars who, Mr. Rothfeld acknowledges, have assisted him in the difficult task of editing the "Waqaya." Students preparing for the higher Persian examinations in India will find Mr. Rothfeld's edition very handy.—J. C. R.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1651-1654 : A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster. By William Fisher, C.I.E. (Oxford : *Clarendon Press.*)

In this volume of old Indian records, the correspondence deals with a stormy period in the history of the East India Company, when the English traders found themselves arrayed against powerful Dutch rivals. The publication of these records will enable the student to form an accurate idea of the struggle for commercial supremacy between the Dutch, French, Portuguese, and English traders in the East. The introduction to the volume is in itself very valuable, giving tersely and in sequence the events recorded by the writers of the letters. The letters relate the difficulties encountered by the factors of the East India Company both in India and Persia, the intrigues of the Dutch at the Courts of the Shah and the Mogul Emperor, and the outcome of the wars in Europe between the



English and the Dutch. They also convey some idea of the chaotic condition of India. One also learns interesting particulars of Shah Jehan's expedition against Kandahar, and of the defence of the town by the Persians. Incidentally, the corrupt state of the Court of Persia is evidenced by the strange request of the Shah "to be supplied with some English-women for his harem." The English factors were, of course, unable to comply with his request, with the result that the Shah next asked them "for a dozen of 'black beavours,'" apparently in order "to make pasttime withall amongst his woemen, as intemateing Frangee, since such woemen hee cannot bee firnisht withall." The English merchants supplied the hats. "Such overplus as wee had (or more then well wee cold spare) wee this and the passed yeare gave unto him, with divers bands and cuffs; and yett is hee desirous of more." The correspondence teems with matters of historical interest.—J. C. R.

PICTURES OF BUDDHIST CEYLON AND OTHER PAPERS. By F. L. Woodward, M.A. (Madras: *Theosophical Publishing House*.)

Mr. Woodward gives us intimate glimpses into the lives of the Buddhist monks in Ceylon. His description of a Buddhist Sabbath is picturesque, and he explains, what would appear to the uninitiated as idolatrous rites, the impressive and yet simple observance of the holy day. He takes us into the Buddhist holy of holies, step by step, explaining the hidden meaning of the ritual. What the Sabbath means for the followers of Buddha is pithily told. "Here is not ignorant idolatry, but devotion to One who has attained; and on this day we mean to tune up the strings of our whole being, if only for this single day, and we purpose to be Buddha-putta, sons of the Buddha, and like unto Him and His perfected monks. That is enough, not to fail or come short for this brief space, from now till to-morrow's dawn; this brings peace for the now, and merit, we think, which shall support our footsteps in troublous times, and lead us along the Path of Him who hath thus come and gone, *Tathagato*, to the lotus-feet of the Lord Metteya, who is yet to come." This then is the meaning of what to the casual observer appears only as a festive gathering in the Buddhist temple. Mr. Woodward's description of an ordination of Buddhist monks is equally interesting. The scene is laid in the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy, the head-*vihara*, "where for centuries the succession apostolic has been preserved." The ceremony of the admission to the Order of the Yellow Robe is described in detail, and the account gains by the sympathetic, personal impressions of the writer. "One receives the impression," writes Mr. Woodward, "that these yellow-robed, shaven-headed monks, with their typical cast of features, are a rock of conservatism on which the waves of centuries of thought have beaten and been rebuffed, confused and ineffectual. Our Western ways, our tongue and thoughts, have passed here as the footprints of the seagull on the ocean's wave, as the gusts on a rocky promontory, 'tempest-buffed, citadel-crowned.'"<sup>1</sup> In his essay, "At the Foot of a Tree," Mr. Woodward is probably at his best. He lets his imagination wander at will from Socrates, the sage, to Marcus

Aurelius, whom he delights in regarding as "the third great Buddhist Emperor," from the Buddha to "Alice in Wonderland," and his musings are the reflections of a seeker after Truth.—J. C. R.

THE POSITIVE SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS. By Brajendranath Seal, PH.D., M.A. (London: *Longmans, Green and Co.*) Price 12s. 6d. net.

The 290 pages of this book cover most of the scientific knowledge of India between 500 B.C. and 500 C.E., though some parts of mathematics and of anatomy are not dealt with, the inquirer being referred to Colebrooke and to Hoernle, and algebra is left for later treatment. The author gives chapter and verse of the classics for every one of his statements, and, availing himself of Messrs. Clowes' ability to print most languages, does so in Sanskrit right through without any transliteration; thus the merely scientific man may eschew Sanskrit and the scholar may check the author's renderings, but one would have been grateful for some transliterations and occasionally translations. The chapters on chemistry and physiology are interesting to compare with the Chinese ideas on the subject, and the last chapter, on scientific method, shows that, given the existence of experimental plant, there would have been no lack of logical method amongst the ancient Hindus to prosecute scientific studies. Still, it is a long, long way from Patañjali to the modern grammaticians or to Poincaré. A colonel with whom we disclaim any more than the merest of nodding acquaintances divided books into those he could read at breakfast and others he never read at all. Doubtless this work would have passed into the latter class; it is not light literature, nor is it intended to be. The author aims, as he says himself, to provide new material for others, and to base thereon a work on comparative philosophy. Let us hope that his wishes will be fulfilled in both cases.

POOTLI: A STORY OF LIFE IN BOMBAY. By Mr. Ardeshir F. J. J. Chinoy B.A., LL.B., and Mrs. Dinbay A. F. Chinoy. (*T. Werner Laurie, Ltd.*)

If Mrs. Ghosal's novel, "The Fatal Garland," which we reviewed in our last number, revealed to us the spirit of India in the fourteenth century, with the heroic Hindu maiden, Shakti, as the outstanding figure, the "Story of Life in Bombay" brings before us the more intimate life of the present day; and this with a view to showing the results of European civilization having gradually been grafted on to the older customs of the people of India. Pootli, the heroine, who, however, comes out only as such towards the end of the story, is a beautiful Parsi maiden, the only daughter of the very wealthy Rustomji, a widower. The first chapter describes his refined home at Bandora (ten miles from Bombay), a fine architectural building, with a terrace looking over the sea, and provided with a select library, works of art, and artistic furniture. Mr. Rustomji is engaged in a conversation with his daughter on that terrace. After admiring her new sari—which, however, is of so fine and delicate a texture that it tears, as on this occasion, when touched—the considerate father somewhat 'apolo-

getically tells his daughter that he has invited his friend Cursetji, with his *young daughters, who also had lost their mother, to pass a few months with them at Bandora—a prospect Pootli did not seem to like at all, to the great disappointment of her father.* The cause of her annoyance was the fact that she had not heard for a long time from her lover, Jal, whom she adored, in spite of his being an unsteady character and a notorious flirt, and all this was without the knowledge of her father. Jal was the son of a respectable Parsi gentleman, whose wife was of a violent temper, who spoilt her eldest son, Jal, and was unjust to her worthier son, Sam. She was a matron of little insight and meek character, on whom, evidently, the Western civilization had worked the wrong way. By this time her unworthy son had gone in largely for gambling. He was in love with Miss Lizzie Brown, the teacher of his sister, who, however, took him as a joke, she being in love with her cousin Tom, to whom she was secretly engaged. In order to be able to marry in the near future, this pair tried to make as much money as possible out of foolish Jal, who, because of his infatuation for his dear Lizzie, was blind to their game. In order to pay his debts to cousin Tom, and being afraid to own them to his parents, he pawns his mother's diamond necklace. His mother's suspicion falls upon an old servant, who remains silent to screen his Sahib's son. Jal, through the excitement, is down with typhoid fever, and dies. Pootli, having been thoroughly cured of her infatuation for Jal, marries the worthy Cursetji, her father's friend, and through his example becomes a noble woman. She befriends a young artist and his mother in paying their rent and sending him to England to complete his education. She is most kind to her friend Liawati, a Hindu girl, who is a child-widow, having been married as a babe by her designing father to a rich but sickly youth, who died soon after. The description of this man's home, and his wife, is not without a humorous note, in spite of its tragedy. Mrs. Purshotam is described as living on a couch, summoning her servant, who, however, does not come forward, but continues to smoke a bidi. Presently, Mr. Purshotam suggests to his wife to bring him the water he needs for his morning toilette, as the servant seems to be out, to which suggestion she indignantly replies : "Nay, nay, Purshotam ; I do not want such drudgery any more. You, as a reformer, ought to know that I, your wife, have to reign in your house as its queen, and as such to lord over your servants and domestics. To do any menial work even for you would be quite beneath me." To which the annoyed husband replies : "Enough of your nonsense. I wanted to attend the office a little earlier, as I wished to be present in the evening at the special meeting of our Social Reform Club." His wife, roused by this information, replied : "Have the goodness to talk no more to me of your reform meetings ; they are a veritable humbug. You hold meetings, denouncing the cruel caste restrictions and the countless woes of innocent child-marriages, but when the time comes to act and to put into practice what you so loudly preach, you sneak away like cowards. Oh, you blustering hypocrites ! You are not ashamed to marry as many wives as your passion dictates ; even while the first wife is burning on the funeral pyre, you coolly carry on negotiations for another match. Ah, for the cruel selfishness of

men ! There would certainly be found a bold youth ready to wed our poor widowed girl, but you, hypocrite of a reformer, have not the moral courage to introduce into our own family the most urgent reform of the widow remarriage. Oh ! my darling Lila, my only child ! what a cruel fate is in store for you." This effusion was followed by copious tears, whilst the conscience-stricken husband assured his good Tara, as he now called her in order to pacify her, that he could not possibly take upon himself the tremendous consequences that would follow so rash an act as she asked of him.

Mrs. Purshotam, soon after this scene, dies of heart-failure ; whilst her husband thought it his religious duty to wed another wife within the next fortnight. Leilamati, his daughter, not able to bear any longer her misfortunes under her father's roof, finds shelter with her friend Pootli, now Mrs. Cursetji. At the end of the story we see the child-widow happily remarried to a Parsi gentleman introduced to her by her friend Pootli. A very charming illustration shows us Leilamati's wedding, to which she is conducted by her faithful friend, Pootli. The authors of this interesting and up-to-date narrative must be congratulated for having so well succeeded in depicting the transformations which have become so apparent in Indian social life of late.

L. M. R.

THE IREX OF SHA-PING: AND OTHER HIMALAYAN STUDIES. By Lieut. L. B. Rundall (1st Gurkha Rifles). With numerous pen-and-ink sketches and coloured plates by the author. (*Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*)

There has been of late a most welcome renewal of interest on the great Himalayas, which, in the words of the late author, "would make the highest peak in Switzerland look insignificant in comparison." The above work contains a series of stories of animal life in these altitudes written much after the manner of "Wild Animals I have known," and to a degree as entertaining. While in the prologue the author breathes something of the spirit of Sir Martin Conway and other alpinists who in their silent converse with mountain nature have learnt in the best possible way its true meaning. The coloured plates, and especially the pen-and-ink sketches which are executed with considerable merit (and are those of an artist rather than an amateur), add greatly to the attractiveness of the book.

## JAPAN.

THE NEW WORLD POWER (being a detailed account of the progress and rise of the Japanese Empire). By Robert P. Porter. With seven coloured maps. (*Oxford University Press, 1915.*)

This is a second edition of Mr. Porter's well-known work priced at six shillings. At this moderate outlay the buyer has the advantage of close on 800 pages, packed with information from a first-rate authority on all that pertains to the great Island Empire of the East. In his previous edition—and it is all reproduced here—the author earnestly pleads for British friendship

towards Japan "with both hands." It must have indeed joyed his heart to see his wish so soon fulfilled. And indeed he says in the new preface that "not often is it an author's privilege to say so soon that world-events have moved to justify his words; but not often has an author so true a cause to plead."

In his chapter of railways he admits that to the casual observer the railways of Japan show little sign of improvement during the last fifteen years. And we have ourselves heard complaints of, *e.g.*, the Tokyo-Yokohama service. But he reminds us that a plan has been formulated for the reconstruction and improvement of the entire railway system of the country. As in India and in Holland, narrow gauge railways are encouraged as a means of opening up the country. The new law provides for the construction both of standard gauge and the 3ft. 6in. Very interesting are the chapters on journalism, literature and the drama; and we see that he says that the Japanese have a natural talent for journalism.

THE SECRET MEMOIRS OF COUNT HAYASHI, edited by A. M. Pooley.  
(London: *Eveleigh Nash.*) 327 pp., 8vo., with portraits. Price 18s. 6d. net.

The review of this book is somewhat overdue, and we should feel prompted to apologize for the delay were it not that we have experienced some difficulty in trying to do it full justice. The work is a translation, presumably by one or two Japanese, of the memoirs left by Count Hayashi, or, to be strictly accurate, of some memoirs left by him for publication after his death if it was thought advisable to do so. In a way they are not new, and in 1915 could hardly be called secret. The *jinji Shimpō*, in the publication of which Hayashi was interested, printed some articles in July, 1913, which had already been published *sub rosa* by the *Chuo Koron* of Tokyo. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan caused all the articles in question to be stopped, and when the *fiji* got through the press a summary thereof in defiance of the authorities, a very efficient censor confiscated the lot. The present writer, looking for them, found that his copy of the paper had been lost in transit! But Mr. Pooley had smuggled a translation to London in his capacity as agent for Reuter, and, presumably, on the score of that journalistic scoop he unloads now a medley of notes and fragmentary memoirs obtained from various sources, including a Japanese pawn-shop. To say that the book is epoch-making or that its disclosures are sensational would be an exaggeration; it is interesting reading; it shows the backwaters of Japanese diplomacy, particularly in the opposition of the late Prince Ito to the late Count Hayashi, with a limelight focussed in all its recesses to expose their sordidness, by a man who appears to have but little love or sympathy for the Japanese or for the Anglo-Japanese alliance—his own words show it (*e.g.*, pp. 57, 70, 296)—and who says deliberately that the "Alliance" is a political arrangement used by Japanese bureaucrats as a safeguard for themselves in a policy of aggression and expansion which has for its ultimate object a protectorate over China" (p. 64), and sees in it

an act on Britain's part such that "it is not perhaps to be wondered at that Germany expressed surprise at England's respect for a 'scrap of paper' in August of last year." There are many gems of the same water in this book. Wonderful to relate, "so far as Japan is concerned, any alliance between herself and a white race must be one of political expediency." What of the white races themselves, may we ask? Do they become allies because of brotherly love and a belief in friendly reciprocity, or merely because of "united we stand . . . ?" After all, the Japanese have no great call to love the white races; the white teachers who went to Japan were well paid in every way, and waxed exceedingly fat at that country's expense. Missionaries are pestering them with undesired and unasked attentions. Japan was made to fear the white races, then to learn their ways: why complain if she has learnt them too well? Why, indeed, rant at the "guid conceit" the Japanese have of themselves (p. 61); there are ample instances of that feeling in Mr. Pooley's own land. The pamphlet of Professor Chamberlain on "*Mikado Worship*" contains as much evidence of disappointment as it does of psychological insight. But, to revert to Mr. Pooley's book, had it been intended as a historical document, the original text in Japanese, and if possible in *facsimile*, should have been given, with a verbatim translation, and the editorial remarks should have been footnotes or distinctly separate introductions. However, the ways of the scholar seem to have been cast aside by the editor for the easier task of the journalist—more's the pity! May we point out that a Japanese writing-brush is called *Fude*, not *Fudo*, as twice repeated; that *Tao Kwang* and *Ch'ien Lung* are correct, but *Tao Kowan* and *Shien Lung* are not; and that to write . . . "he made a mess of it" (p. 17) is rather colloquial. The biographical sketch is sympathetic enough, and in the light of it one cannot but express surprise at the publication of fragmentary translations likely to be misconstrued, and if misconstrued to create distrust and ill-feeling between Britain and Japan at a time when the closest of relations exist, and are, to use Mr. Pooley's words, expedient, if nothing more.

SHOSANKEN.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL OF CHOKEN. Annual Report (1913-1914).  
167 pp. Two maps and numerous plates. (*Seoul*, 1915.)

During the last eight years Korea has been virtually under Japanese administration, although four years only have elapsed since it was annexed; and if anyone should doubt or question the efficiency of the Japanese, a perusal of the various reports issued since will soon put his mind at rest. A country fallen into the most abject misery, plundered by effete officialdom, is now rising anew with remarkable energy; foreign trade has increased fourfold since 1906, public common schools number now 47,066 pupils—ten times the roll of 1906. Epidemic diseases have been almost wiped out. In other branches work has been just as thorough. The records of the Korean dynasty from 1393 to 1910 have been investigated and their 1,187 volumes condensed; in three years historical remains have been classified and tomb-rifling stopped, the land is being surveyed, new farms established together with agricultural schools; banks now exist,

roads and rivers are being improved, docks are being built. Generally speaking, the book is a record of progress under the government of General Terauchi and his coadjutors, of which any nation could be proud.—SHOSANKEN.

### SOME AMERICAN NOVELS.

THE HONEY OF ROMANCE. By Maud Churton Braby. (*T. Werner Laurie.*) Price 6s.

This is the "tragic love-story of a publisher's wife," and I really do not see that there is any more to be said than what is said in the advertisement upon the paper cover, whose colour is, however, more reminiscent of mustard than of the plunder of the bee. "This is the story of a London publisher's wife who has reached the age when a modern woman asks herself, 'What has life done for me?' and, looking forward, reflects sadly, 'Is this all?'" Yes, I sadly echo, as I sip the sparkling brew, this is all: and it is rather hard upon the reviewer that the further descriptive notes he might have added are already pasted upon the honey-pot. How Ernestine Trevor found the longed-for intoxicant, and what it cost her, is told with a piquancy and skill that will insure the book's popularity; and beside the symmetrical love-problem, "worked out between two couples," relief for all who want it is afforded by sketches of the London hive, seen from the point of view of one among many esteemed purveyors of such honey.

MICHAEL O'HALLORAN. By Gene Stratton Porter. (*John Murray.*) Price 6s.

This is a prodigious book—that is to say, it is all about prodigies, prodigies of the most marvellous kind. Pearls from their lips adorn the heads of each chapter, and I have a feeling that all the conversations are worthy of being printed in italics. Michael O'Halloran, or "Mickey," "who was square," is the leading infant prodigy, Douglas Bruce and Leslie Winton the chief adult divinities. Minor prodigies are Peaches, "Michael's Family," the Sunshine Nurse, "who helped Mickey," Mr. Winton, the Minturns, the Hardings, and Mr. Chaffner, all in their different ways heroic and so inimitable that we wonder about the geography of Multiapolis. It must be a wonderful place, this American city, from whose Sunshine Alley there sprang such a blithe, voluble, knight-errant as Mickey, with all the morality of "squareness" at his command, and issuing torrentially, poetically, incorrigibly from his lips, whether he sold papers in the streets, educated and tended Peaches, or conversed with the sapient and manly Bruce, or the beautiful, true-womanly, and oh, so conversationally gifted Leslie. There, too, reside the Minturns, the story of whose domestic unhappiness might have been unrelieved tragedy, if it had not been for Leslie's pure, exemplary interference, and the crowning influence of grand opera in the tamarack swamps, where Leslie inoculated Mrs. Minturn with penitence for her undutiful butterfly life by taking her there with a music scroll before sunrise to listen to the birds imitating Verdi. The book

exudes with sentimental optimism and old-fashioned idealism. Upon its writing the author has bestowed infinite pains, and has succeeded in securing a fresh synonym for the simple verb "said" in nearly all her conversations. I append one particularly skilful example. (This is over the telephone.)

"Do you believe that, Douglas?" asked the girl.

"It's history, dear, not fiction," he answered.

"Douglas!" she warned.

"Leslie, I beg your pardon. That was a slip," cried he.

"Oh!" she breathed.

"Leslie, will you do something for me?" he questioned.

"What?" she retorted.

"Listen with one ear, stop the other, and tell me what you hear," he ordered.

"Yes," she said.

"Did you hear, Leslie?" he asked anxiously.

"I heard something, I don't know what," she answered.

"Can you describe it, Leslie?"

"Just a rushing, beating sound! What is it, Douglas?"

"My heart, Leslie, sending to you each pulsing, throbbing stroke of my manhood pouring out its love for you."

"Oh—h—h!" cried the astonished girl.

"Will you listen again, Leslie?" begged the man.

"No," she said.

"You don't want to hear what my heart has to say to you?"

"Not over a wire! Not so far away!" she panted.

"Then I'll shorten the distance. I'm coming, Leslie."

"What shall I do?" she gasped.

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THE STORY OF JULIA PAGE. By Kathleen Norris. (*John Murray*.)  
Price 6s.

"The Honey of Romance" and "The Story of Michael O'Halloran" had left me without much zest for the reading of another American novel upon whose wrapper sundry portentous extracts of soliloquy from within thrust the "view-point," as Americans would say, of the book beneath my eye, barely recovered from the grandiloquent sunshine of Miss Porter's optimism.

"To Emeline, wife of George Page, there came slowly, in her thirtieth year, a sudden conviction that life was monstrously unfair." More feminine discontent, I thought; another woman's sad honeycomb! "The story of the development of a young girl from a sordid condition of life to dissatisfaction with that life, and so to the championship of noble things."—*See back of cover*, announced the publisher's advertisement. I had already seen back of cover; it contained the extracts from soliloquy referred to. Sullenly I entered upon "The Story of Julia Page," by Mrs. Norris.

But my sullenness vanished before the end of the first chapter. There was meaning, dignity, sensibility, in this excellent English. Mrs. Norris



was not writing elaborate composition, but she was telling a story, for all its variegated detail, tersely, for all its strangeness to English eyes, convincingly—a story whose garb of, unfamiliar circumstance in a Californian town never for a moment hid its genuine human character. And, having finished reading the story, I wonder why its always sure, and often fine, movement should have been forced, in the publisher's notice, to advertise itself in rather priggish language as the career of a social purpose. "The Story of Julia Page" needs no moral bush of this kind: it is not on account of its answers to questions which, the cover informs us, are raised in the book, but on account of its admirable focussing of facts and sensitive reflection of them, and, too, for its embodiment, in Julia, of an attitude to life which seeks less to fulfil a purpose in living than to recognize life's hard and unmoral logic. Interest in this aspect of Julia Page's psychology has made me disinclined to criticize the actual drama of the story, to question the probability of such a ghostly jealousy's being able to break up the married life of Julia and Jim Studdiford. For it is not in the facts, but in Julia Page's noble facing of them, that the harmony of the book and the deserved meed of Mrs. Norris lies.—I. C. W.

## RECENT FICTION.

HEART OF THE SUNSET. By Rex Beach. (*Hodder and Stoughton*).

This is one of those novels which is noteworthy, not so much for its plot—of which it is sufficient to say that it is most entrancing—as for the picture of life under eventful conditions in a country about which we are all anxious to know more. The American-Mexican border is to the average Britisher a *terra incognita* not devoid of romance. Rex Beach gives us an admirable picture of life on the international border; of the rancher who has in the past been a cattle-stealer; of the men who supplies horses to one Mexican party and rifles to the other; of the man who has killed some few men (excluding Mexicans), and so forth. There is a particularly amusing story of a village magnate who is put off his game of pool by a stranger who had seen him in a seaside town running the gauntlet of the bathers on the beach, after making a particularly unfortunate mistake for which (in those parts) the punishment seems to be shooting. A thoroughly delightful and inspiring story! The book is now in its second edition and is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's Colonial Library.

"THE BET" AND OTHER STORIES. By Anton Tchekhov. Translated by S. Koseliansky and J. M. Murray. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Since England has become the ally of Russia the interest in that great Empire has vastly increased in our country. The book market which has almost become a desert since the war, offering almost nothing for sale but cheap and only too often incompetent war-literature, shows a *faible* for Russian novels. Russian music too constitutes, at this moment, a well-merited attraction.

Tolstoi, Dostoeiefsky, and not less Turgenevi, have been, and still are, greatly read, and so is Gorki, with his crude and realistic short stories which emphasize, not only the backwardness of his country, but also its great possibilities. The comparatively less known Tchekhov, the author of this book, shows himself a writer of no less ability. Well worth reading is "The Bet," which heads the series of thirteen stories in this volume. It is a strong argument in favour of the abolition of capital punishment. Although it does not cover more than about twelve pages, it carries with it strong conviction.

"The Journal of an Old Man" describes the despondency of a once famous man who feels his powers failing at sixty. There is not one redeeming point in this weird story, not even the diarist himself who turns out to be a hopeless egoist. He informs us that he is an eminent scientist, with whose name is inseparably associated the idea of a richly-gifted man, "a steady worker and honest fellow who has never poked his nose into politics, and never made speeches either at dinners or funerals." But, in spite of all this he is far from being satisfied with his life. He feels dull, is conscious of being ugly, bald-headed, of having false teeth and an inevitable tic in the fair. His wife, as he confesses, has no longer any charm for him, nor does he really care for his daughter or his son; they are all faulty in his eyes, and he criticizes them constantly. He is, in short, a victim to neurasthenia. His lectures, which used to be his great delight, are now a constant anxiety to him, for he fears that at any moment his memory may give way. The suitor of his daughter, a man named Gnekker, is a source of annoyance to him, for he proclaims himself to be rich and highly connected, and the professor, with a *coup d'œil*, recognizes him as an adventurer; but instead of listening to his much-tried wife, Varja, who urges him to go to Karkow, the native town of Gnekker, and find out all about him, he prefers to show the young man his displeasure at dinner in a ludicrous way. After staring at his victim for a long time, he suddenly fires off at him with the quotation:

"Eagles, than barnyard fowls may lower bend:  
But fowls shall never to the heav'ns ascend."

After this *tour de force*, the learned Professor makes the following comment in his diary about himself: "I often say things which are foolish, and which make my wife and my daughter blush, and I do not know why I say them." His ward, Katy, who had been an actress but had retired early from the stage with the loss of her ideals and her reputation, shows him much sympathy. To the great annoyance of his people, he often spends the evenings with her, and meets there Mikhail Fiodorovich; another man of repute, who loves Katy and wishes to marry her. The end is nebulous if not mysterious. Katy wants to save her old friend from himself, but he will not let her.

It is not only a tedious story, as the author himself *calls* it, but an eminently sad one, which shows in a few masterly strokes the futility of human learning, if through it the human body has been wrecked, thus causing paralysis of the soul, indifference and premature death. The

characters, however, only partly reveal themselves, as is the case with Katy, who might have been the heroine if she had not acted so mysteriously at the end. There is much room for suggestion certainly. Does she love her ward, father and friend Nicola Stiepanowich, for whom she is ready to make every sacrifice with filial love only? This is the question which puzzles us to the last, and which remains unsolved. One thing is clear to us: that he, in his indifference to everything and everybody, was unable to understand her until it was too late. The author, and this might be said of all his stories in this book, portrays life, but does not elucidate it; he is evidently an impressionist, but his modified suggestions have a peculiar charm.

Another story, "The Fit," transports us to a world of darkness and vice, where the only help, according to a doctor, is morphia. It is a story which is inspired by Tolstoi's "Resurrection," but the author does not find the way out of dilemmas in the way of his great predecessor. Anton Tchekhov's great individual talent lies in the shortness of his stories and the conciseness with which he depicts his characters—their shadows puzzle us long after we have put down his book.—L. M. R.

### POETICAL WORKS.

POEMS. By Elinor Jenkins. (London: *Sidgwick and Jackson.*)

These songs suggest that the singer sings because she must. She has been gifted with the gift of song, and, like the linnet, she pours forth her melodies in "strains of unpremeditated art." A sad lilt pervades most of these poems; they are mournful, like the times, and whisper of family bereavement and personal sorrow:

"Where light and laughter and love  
Lie dead in the dark together,  
And we brood their dust above,  
Knowing not surely whether  
'Tis life at our hearts doth move."

But, notwithstanding the prevalence of the sad note, one gathers here and there little hints to solace woe, and there flash forth now and then daring questionings and stern calls to duty:

"What'er befall, we know him far removed  
From all the weary labours of last year,  
And even in paying this most bitter price,  
We know the cause worthy the sacrifice."

And again:

"They have found rest that laboured long and sore,  
While we take up again in street and mart  
The burden and the business of the day;  
And which of these two is the better part,  
God only knows, whose face is turned away."

The tribute to "Rupert Brooke, April, 1915," breathes true poetry:

"Then, lest vile foes should vaunt a spoil so rare,  
The sun, that loved him, gave a kiss death-fraught."

And the "Lover's Walk" enshrines a quaint poetic conceit while few lines could be more touching than the Epitaph on a Child left buried abroad :

"Father, forget not, now that we must go,  
A little one in alien Earth low laid ;  
Send some kind angel when thy trumpets blow  
Lest he should wake alone and be afraid."

This little book of song introduces us to one who, we venture to predict, will be ranked high amongst the Singers of our land. She inherits her undoubted talents and Kymric imagination and inspiration from both sides of her family, for her father was Sir John Jenkins, K.C.S.I. (an eminent Bombay Civilian who was on the Viceroy's Council when the King-Emperor visited India and who had much to do with the transference of the Capital to Delhi), and her maternal grandfather is Sir Arthur Trevor, K.C.S.I., who was Public Works Minister in India, and who was the youngest son of a very distinguished family of public servants, tracing a long descent from Wales.

J. P.

"ADORATION AND OTHER POEMS." By Charlotte and Reginald Salwey.  
(London : *Heath, Cranton and Ouseley, Ltd.*)

This is a delightful little book of song, and both the authors alternately vie with each other in sweetness of thought and in melody of expression. The two best poems in the book are perhaps those that face the two beautiful illustrations in lead pencil—viz., "Day-Break in London" and the "Awakening," but the tribute to "H.M. the King of the Belgians" and "The Waiting for Autumn" are of particular merit.

"It may be vain regret, it is not dread,  
Perchance a language born of summer's fire ;  
No leaves are loosened, nothing has been said,  
And yet the world is dulled—we droop and tire."

The songs "From the Moon Maiden" are full of silvery pathos and may be described as perfect, although it may be doubted whether any but the most modern of grammarians would pass the last line :

"There is peace for you and I."

We also doubt whether "forced" can be regarded as a correct rhyme for "host" or "lost." But these are mere specks that detract in no way from the beauty of the whole or from the outstanding merits of this little collection of poems.

J. P.

OXFORD POETRY, 1915. Edited by G. D. H. C. and T. W. E. (Oxford : *B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street.* 1915.)

Where all have helped so well to produce a pretty "Book of Song" it seems hardly fair to use comparative terms in speaking of the work of the various contributors, but the six poems written in foreign countries by Godfrey Elton (Balliol) must be singled out for special praise. These echoes from Quetta, from the Mediterranean Sea and from Chasma Tangi, Baluchistan,

recalling memories of the homeland in times of exile, are of surpassing merit :

“ Surely on some long evening  
When rooks call down the lane,  
And on the fields at twilight  
All softly falls the rain,  
We shall come home again.

When faint far cries of sunset  
Are in the lime trees cool,  
And by the ancient spinney  
Up from the hidden pool  
The boys troop back to school.

For Hannah Pass is rocky  
And high is Murdar Hill,  
But oh ! of June in England  
And the fields our people till,  
Our hearts are dreaming still.”

Gerald Crow's lines—“ Do we Begin ”—raise a deep philosophic question with graceful similes, but his weird “ Supposing we had gone down ” involves a grim and hardy pleasant conceit. R. H. Freston's “ Sometimes I wonder ” makes a very pretty poem :

“ Sometimes I think you understand  
That, when the magic hour draws near,  
Suddenly I shall seize your hand,  
And kiss your lips and call you dear ;  
Sometimes I think you understand.”

H. C. Harwood's “ From the Youth of all Nations ” is a powerful indictment of those who have had the ordering of things up till now. Speaking to his “ elders,” he says :

“ You called with patriotic sneers  
And drums and sentimental songs,  
We came from out the vernal years  
Thus bloodily to right your wrongs.

The sins of many centuries,  
Sealed by your indolence and fright,  
Have earned us these our agonies  
The thund'rous appalling night

Where from the lurid darkness came  
The pains of poison and of shell,  
The broken heart, the world's ill-fame,  
The lonely arrogance of hell.

Faintly, as from a game afar,  
Your wrangles and your patronage  
Come drifting to the work of war  
Which you have made our heritage.

We kneel at no ancestral shrine  
With admirable blasphemy,  
We desecrate the old divine  
And dream new eternity.”

These lines recall Tennyson's—

“Since our mortal shadow—Ill—  
To waste this earth began—  
Perchance from some abuse of will  
In worlds before the man  
Involving ours—he needs must fight,  
To make true Peace his own.”

And also Tennyson's denunciation of “Easy Patrons of their Kin.”

A. L. Huxley's “Home Sickness” may be described as “the natural man speaking”:

“Have we risen from out the beast? then back into the beast again!”

Agnes E. Murray's “Dominò Meo” might be called “a poem written in imitation,” but nevertheless it is a striking original piece of work—“the cry for a great prize lost.” “The Ballad of Doom,” by Elizabeth Rendall, tells in a fresh and original way the old, old story of a woman's selfless love for a lover-foe in preference to a lover true:

“I'll climb the road to Heaven and kiss the wounded hand  
Of him who is a lover true, and he will understand;  
Then will I take my way to Hell unto my lover-foe,  
False or true I love him, and God will let me go.”

The “Lay,” by Dorothy L. Sayers, deserves special mention. She sings:

“Oxford! Suffer it once again that another should do thee wrong,  
I also, I above all, should set thee into a song.

Bear with me as thou hast borne with all thy passionate throng  
Of Lovers—the foes of love; for the great flood sweeps along  
From the hills unto the sea, and all their boats go down with the tide,  
And thou shalt stand unmoved, when the wreck of the world beside,  
When the loveless cities of greed slip down in their ruined pride,  
And crumble into the gulf of Time. Thou shalt be strong  
With Thebes and On and Memphis, where the deathless Gods abide  
‘A City sanctified.’”

The editors, G. D. H. C. and T. W. E., are to be congratulated on the manner in which they have been able to tell the world what young Oxford thinks and sings about in these—the dawning—years of the twentieth century.—J. P.

## CURRENT PERIODICALS

### ORIENTAL ART.

The Indian Society of Oriental Art, which was established a few years ago in Calcutta, has done very good work in the artistic revival in India, and has succeeded in drawing prominent attention to the greatness of Indian achievements in the past and the latent capacity of Indian artists working under modern conditions to rise to the heights of their ancestors.

The numerous artistic remains and relics of the past which are scattered about the country enshrine the national tradition and national technique of Indian art, and have rendered possible the artistic revival of India and an intelligent perpetuation of its characteristic excellences. Mr. Abanindranath Tagore has been the moving spirit of the new movement, and has trained a number of keen young disciples, who have done credit to their leader and to the art. The Society has helped in the production *not merely of great pictures, but of valuable literature on Indian art and art-tradition.* Even more important for the advancement of Indian art has proved the exhibition which the Society held at the Grand Palais in Paris under the auspices of the French Society of Oriental Painting. The pictures exhibited, it is recorded in the Society's report, elicited much critical appreciation in articles published in the newspapers and monthly reviews of Paris. The success which attended this exhibition created much interest in Indian art in artistic circles on the Continent, and brought numerous invitations to hold similar exhibitions in other places. These could not be accepted, owing to the other engagements of the Society, which, however, held its next exhibition in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, during April and May, 1914. This also proved a great success. The notices in the Press pay a well-merited compliment to the work which the Society has initiated and is carrying on with such success. The Society unfortunately suffers from the want of adequate financial and other support. The work so far achieved in giving an impetus to the resuscitation of Indian art shows the great possibility in store, and all interested in the movement will serve the cause the Society has so much at heart by extending their help to it, and in thus securing to their country the traditions of their race, qualities of invention and of imagination, purity of design, and the taste for harmony and composition, which have attracted the attention of competent critics in the West as special characteristics of classic Indian art worthy of preservation.—*Madras Weekly Mail*, November 26, 1915.

Our contemporary *La Revue* gives room in its December number to a sketch of the origins of Japanese people, written by G. de Bauzemont. Ever since Europeans were allowed to settle in Nippon this question has been *à l'ordre du jour*, and many are the attempts made at unravelling the mystery. A Scot saw in the Japanese the last remnants of the lost tribes, which other writers had placed in England. One of the early volumes of the Asiatic Society of Japan contains a lengthy essay on the subject, and since then more theories have been propounded, none of which is satisfactory. For one thing ethnographical evidence is scanty. We know that a race existed in Japan, in the Hondo and perhaps in the Hokkaido, which was pushed back to the north by invaders settling in Izumo and in Kyushu respectively; but although remains of sepulchres and a few weapons, specimens of pottery, stone, and metal implements are available, no data hitherto gathered can help us to a definite conclusion. The writer in *La Revue* takes up the theory put forward by Professor Kumé.

the foremost of Japanese historians, whose son, once a student under Professor Raphael Collins, has achieved distinction as a talented painter. Professor Kumé suggests that two currents came to Japan, one from Northern China through Korea, and Yezo, the other from Annam through Lucon, Southern China, Korea and Southern Japan. We fear this hypothesis will not remain unshaken; it does not (as far as the analysis referred to shows) take sufficient cognizance of anthropological features; *but at the same time we must not forget that but little is known of the various races of early Japan, as already mentioned above.* The researches of Japanese archæologists are bringing but little anthropological material to light. It would be highly interesting to compare the measurements of skulls sent to the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle by Dr. Steenackers years ago, with those of Malay and Annamese tribes. Let it be noted that the puzzling *Dōtaku* present drawings on low-relief, identical with some found on Miaotzü bronze drums, further, that tattooed designs on ancient masks bear some resemblance with Polynesian and Maori tattooing. Japanese swords have features found in the Malay weapon. Japanese houses have features satisfactory in a *hot* climate only, although these are common to all houses all over the island, but are not found in Annam. The head hunting custom was perpetuated during the wars when the victor took away the heads of his slain enemies, as in Formosa and amongst the Dyaks. There are so many points of contact between the "culture" of the conquering Southern races and those of the Malay natives that one hesitates to go as far as Annam, where, moreover, the height and other features of the body are only comparable with those of the smallest amongst Japanese. It is a pity that Dr. Baelz did not write more on the subject before her death; and one looks forward to Dr. Gordon N. Munro, and to Murdock, to help in elucidating, *si faire se peut*, a very difficult problem. Readers who are not conversant with Professor Kumé's writings would be well advised to read Mr. de Bauzemont's article.

H. L. J.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

"Indian Biographical Dictionary," by C. H. Rao. Published by Pillar and Co.—"Java," by Donald MacLane Campbell. Published by Heinemann.—"Pashtu," Part 1. Published by Oxford Clarendon Press.—"Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus," by Brajendramath Seal. Published by Longmans and Co.—"The Promotion of Learning in India," by Narendra Nath Law. Published by Longmans and Co.—"The Hindu Philosophy of Conduct," Vol. 1, by M. Rangcharaya. Published by the Law Printing House, Madras.—"Licknow: The Capital of Oudh," Major H. A. Newell. Published by Harrison and Sons, London.

## PERIODICALS RECEIVED

"United Empire," "Current Opinion," "Public Opinion," "The Madras Mail," "The Saturday Review," "The Near East," "Review of Reviews,"



"Hindustan Review," "The Pioneer," "The Indian Review," "The Leader," "The Modern Review," "The Indian Emigrant," "Indische Gids," "Ararat," "The Moslem World," "La Revue," "La Revue Politique Internationale," "The Canadian Gazette," "The Philomath," "Twentieth-Century Russia and Anglo-Russian Review," "The Mysore Economic Journal," "The Bombay Gazette," "The Journal of the United Service Institution of India," "The Harvest Field" (Mysore), "The Bulletin of the Imperial Institute" (London).

## ELEFThERIOS VENIZELoS\*

By F. R. SCATCHERD

SINCE his advent to power in Greece, the career of M. Venizelos is well known, but comparatively few are familiar with the details of his youth and early life in Crete. Therefore the small volume bearing the title which heads this article will be eagerly welcomed by a large circle of readers.

The work of Dr. Kerofilas lacks somewhat a sense of proportion. It tells much that is already well known, while leaving out many things one would gladly have learned. However, since the author modestly disclaims all pretensions of offering a complete history of his subject, there is no legitimate cause of complaint.

There are men through whom the world-soul seems to be accomplishing its processes by leaps and bounds—men whose life and actions become veritable centres of cosmic-unfolding, and to this order belongs, undoubtedly, the hero of the story told by Dr. Kerofilas. Untravelled, without special antecedents or training, he had a "clear vision in all problems, an instant and practical grasp of their solutions, the art of applying theories, . . . and an eloquence that could convince and carry men off their feet."

Eleftherios Venizelos was born early in the year 1864 (why is the exact date withheld?), in the village of Mourniès, an hour's journey from Canea, in a house surrounded with

\* "Eleftherios Venizelos: His Life and Work." By Dr. C. Kerofilas. With an Introduction by M. Take Jonescu. 3s. 6d. net. London: John Murray.

almond-trees in blossom. In a room in that house two Greek priests and two Muhammadan hodjas had been praying ceaselessly for two days and nights.

"The poor mother had been very unfortunate so far. She had given birth to three children, all of whom she had lost. So her relatives, with the credulity of Orientals, had advised her to call in the assistance of *religious men, renowned throughout the country for their supernatural power*. They all four prayed, in different tongues, that the child about to be born should have long life.

"At dawn on the third day a son was born—Eleftherios Venizelos, the future Minister of Greece."

This curious story is vouched for by an eminent friend of the author, and Yarotheos, one of the Greek priests who baptized the boy, was living as recently as four years ago. The name "Yarotheos" (old god) had been conferred upon him on account of his alleged miraculous powers.

The details of his early life are few and meagre. His father belonged to one of the best families of Crete, whither long ago his ancestors had emigrated from Sparta. He was exiled from Crete when Eleftherios was four years old, and took refuge with his family in Cythera, and later in Syra, returning to Crete in 1872. At the end of his school-days Eleftherios was sent into business. He had been, unlike most geniuses, an apt scholar, ahead of the other pupils, astounding the masters and dominating his schoolfellows.

The Greek Consul-General at Canea, M. Georges Zigomalas, quickly perceived the youth's extraordinary mental endowments.

"It is a great mistake," he kept repeating to his father, "to condemn your son to an obscure commercial existence. You are depriving the country of a useful defender. Believe me, let him study. He has the makings of an admirable lawyer."

It took two years to induce the elder Venizelos to permit his son to attend the University of Athens, whence he returned to Crete in 1886, having taken his legal degree with brilliant success. At Athens he had suffered from typhoid fever, and a second attack on his return home nearly cost him his life, his recovery being regarded as a miracle.

About a year later he entered the Chamber, and became the leader of the Liberals, known as the "*Bare foot Party*," in order to distinguish it from the wealthy Opposition.

"His entry into the Chamber was a triumph. He brought to it burning zeal, new ideas, untried principles. For centuries past, Crete had lived under a terrible yoke, in perpetual revolt against her oppressors. The division of the irreconcilable parties in the Chamber only intensified this hatred. There was no room there except for the numerical majority by which everything was decided in the Chamber. The minority was always wrong and had to go under."

When it was proposed as usual to eliminate the seven or eight members of the opposition, M. Venizelos refused, saying :

"A party should not be founded solely on numerical strength, but it also needs moral principles, without which it cannot do useful work or inspire confidence."

In these brave words from a now famous speech, the young leader secured the recognition of the rights of the members of the opposition in the Cretan Chamber, and laid the foundations on which has been based his subsequent policy both in Crete and in Greece.

He was an omnivorous reader and devoted his leisure to literature and languages. When I was in Crete, I took, as they attracted attention, one volume after another from the shelves of his well-selected library, and their owner would tell how they came into his possession and the special

interest each held for himself, and how he had employed enforced leisure spent in the mountains, during the revolutions in learning languages, each revolution a new language, English being the last thus acquired.

His defiance of the European Powers was one of the most dramatic incidents of the revolution of 1897.

Led by M. Venizelos, the Cretan insurgents were fearless alike of the bullets of the European troops and of the gunfire of the warships in the harbour. They had been warned that the Greek flag, flying over their camp at Akrotira, would be bombarded on the following day.

"You have cannon-ball—fire away! But our flag will not come down," exclaimed M. Venizelos as he gazed at the battleships anchored in Suda Bay. To a last request from the admirals to lower the Greek emblem the reply was:

"Never! Lower it yourselves."

"We are going to bombard you."

"We are waiting."

When the flagstaff was hit and looked like falling all rushed forward; but M. Venizelos outstripped the rest and was only held back by the restraining hands of his devoted friends.

In the subsequent interview with the commander of the British troops, M. Venizelos refused to give up his point of vantage.

"We captured this position with blood, we shall only give it up with blood. . . . Do your worst. . . . Death alone can move us from here."

Twice in one day his life was attempted when he opposed the acceptance of autonomy later on in that fateful year. The enemies had set fire to the house in which he was resting with his friends. Making good the escape of his followers, M. Venizelos harangued the assailants who numbered about a thousand, denouncing them as "traitors, unworthy of liberty." This calm audacity so astounded them that they allowed him to go free.

Here is an incident which reveals a reason for the long-

drawn, desperate struggle to free Crete from Ottoman rule, and I commend it to the consideration of those who would prolong Ottoman rule in Europe or elsewhere at the close of the war. The president of the new Cretan Assembly in 1910 was reading the resolution for union with Greece, when a Moslem deputy handed him a protest against the opening of the Chamber according to Greek laws. Ere the President could take it, it was snatched from his grasp by a deputy named Daskoloyanis and torn to pieces.

*The grandfather of Daskoloyanis had been flayed alive by the Turks.*

True to his principles M. Venizelos insisted on the protest of the Musulmans being respected, and invited them to present another copy in lieu of the one that had been destroyed. He was also one of the few Greek leaders who concurred with Dr. Drakoules in the early attempt at a Balkan Federation which should include Turkey among its members. This inflexible justice is one of the secrets of his success.

A single instance will suffice to illustrate his organizing capacity and legislative acumen. After Crete had been granted autonomy, M. Venizelos was appointed Judicial Adviser to the Executive Commission, May 10, 1899. Twenty-one days later, June 1, he brought out the new legislative code complete, to the utter amazement of the Consuls of the Powers who were still deliberating as to the nature of the Constitution that should be given to the island.

These laws included a statute forbidding cruelty to animals, the first enacted in the Near East. When at Canea, in 1910, he handed a copy of this statute to Dr. Platon Drakoules and his wife, the promoters of a similar measure in Greece, which has not yet become law, I turned to him and launched the senseless objection, which had so often greeted all our efforts at humane reform :

"Why did you pass a law for the protection of animals, when so many human beings were living under such atrocious conditions?" I asked.

His answer revealed the wisdom and far-sightedness of the grave Cretan statesman :

“ Do you not see,” he said, “ that such a law operates in the highest interests of men as well as of animals. You will never eradicate the vice of cruelty from the human mind as long as you tolerate the cruel treatment of beings more helpless than yourself.”

Cromwell once said that no man goes so far as the man who does not know where he is going. During the Ambassadors' Conference in London I endeavoured to induce M. Venizelos to speak about himself in the presence of an admiring friend who intended writing a character-sketch of him, with what success those who have made similar attempts can best imagine. At last, in order to make him talk, I said desperately that some people thought he had deliberately planned the attainment of his present position. With a controlled intensity of emotion, which ennobled his aspect to one of tragic appeal, he ejaculated, for our sakes rather than his own, words to the effect that he had had no ulterior aims—he perceived certain things that must be said, and said them ; other things that needed doing, and did them ; and the force of circumstances landed him in the position in which he then found himself. And these simple words spoken to M. Take Jonescu, give his own explanation of the secret of his success and influence. “ I have always told my fellow-countrymen the truth and the whole truth, and I have always been quite prepared to lay down my power without regret.”

The second part of the book deals with more familiar ground, since it gives an interesting account of the events of the last five years, from the time when M. Venizelos assumed the reins of Government in Greece, down to August, 1915.

It is to be regretted that there are no photographs to illustrate the text, and one would also have liked to hear something more of the friends and general entourage of the central figure, as, for instance, of his loyal friend and

fellow-Cretan, M. Markantonakis, who followed him to Athens and accompanies him on his travels.

A pen-portrait by a brother-statesman, one of his recent and most fervent friends, may fitly close this brief outline of the less-known periods in the life of this good and great statesman. Says M. Take Jonescu :

“ I was attracted from the first. That head, like a Byzantine saint straight from a church fresco, that gentle and penetrating glance, that subtle smile, the irresistible sympathy that radiates from all his being ; the almost girlish modesty, all the more charming when combined with a will of iron—all that strikes you the moment you see him.

“ The Greek nation, and Greeks all over the world have the right to be proud of him, and it is their duty to be so. For us, his friends, it is our duty to love him.”



## CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

### MACEDONIA AND THE IMPORTANCE OF SALONICA

To those who do not know the Balkans and their peoples first-hand it would appear that the entry of Bulgaria and Turkey into the war was caused chiefly by German pressure, and the desire of the latter, by bringing in the one, to make the way to the Golden Horn clear, and the other to furnish new contingents for the European war. But there is a more immediate reason for these occurrences which it is well to bring forward at this time. The Germans and Austrians were not slow to recognize the commercial possibilities of the Balkans, and took steps many years ago to make themselves acquainted with the conditions on the spot. Under the Ottoman régime there was, of course, no immediate chance of any progress, either commercial or industrial, being made; but when the first Balkan War wrested the fertile soil of Macedonia from the Sultan's hands, it became obvious that some kind of boom in trade was to be expected in that quarter. And, indeed, Macedonia is, of all the Balkans, by far the richest, the most fertile, and climatically also the most favourable. Indeed, it was to be expected that the moment Macedonia had the benefit of an enlightened rule, she would become, instead of the storm-centre of Europe, the metropolis of the Balkan

States in all that regards the peaceful arts, though exciting the envy of those States which by the fortune of war were excluded from it. The tobacco-fields are deservedly famous; but it is not so generally known that underneath the soil there is mineral wealth—viz., iron, copper, silver, gold, and lead. In classical times already this fact was appreciated, and the reader of ancient Greek history will come across many references to the silver-mines of Macedonia.

It is natural, therefore, that Macedonia should excite the covetousness of the Balkan States.

In spite of labouring under the disadvantage of having been for hundreds of years under Ottoman administration, Macedonia has several flourishing towns. But this is as nothing to what we may confidently expect under a new régime. Cavalla, which from its geographical position is the natural port for the shipment of tobacco, only exported 500 millions of francs worth per annum. The town of Kastoria exports every year several millions of francs' worth of furs, chiefly to Germany; and it is to be hoped that this trade will come into the hands of the Entente. Other important trade-centres are Serres, Drama, and Monastir; but most noteworthy of all is, of course, Salonica, which now plays such an important rôle in the European war. This port has the advantage of direct railway connection with East and West. It is obvious that the State which possesses Salonica can exercise a control over the trade of the Balkans. But another factor that must be taken into consideration is that, with the loss of Trieste, Austria also will have to look to Salonica as her chief port of exit.

The population of Macedonia is approximately 1,800,000 or 2,000,000, of whom 800,000 are Greeks (Hellenes), in which for our purpose we may include 70,000 to 80,000 Koutso-Valaques, who have the same customs and religion. The remainder are mostly Musulmans, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Jews. In the two vilayets, Salonica and Monastir, the Greeks are, in the first 350,000, and in the second 300,000. These statistics have no claim to

being complete, the reason being the fusion of the races which inhabit Macedonia, and the unreliability of Ottoman census returns. Suffice it to say that the moral predominance manifests itself in all Macedonia.

This is especially the case in such towns as Monastir, Klovina, Kutchevo, and Kastoria, where the unprejudiced traveller will immediately perceive the all-pervading influence of Greek culture. All the liberal professions are in the hands of Greeks. The great landlords, merchants, masters of industry, and bankers, are nearly all Greeks. It is to all intents and purposes a Greek country.

P. P. THEOPHILATOS,

Ancien Vice-Consul de Grèce en Belgique.

## ARMENIAN ATROCITIES AND SOME SCEPTICS

DEAR SIR,

May I draw attention to the recent statements of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, who has been vigorously excusing and justifying the wholesale torture and murder of the Armenian nation on the grounds that such extermination is a "state necessity" for "The Defence of the Realm" in Turkey.\*

Mr. Pickthall has read Mr. Arnold Toynbee's *Armenian Atrocities*, "one of the most thrilling and most eloquent appeals that has ever been written," to quote the warm-hearted Mr. T. P. O'Connor. The perusal has left Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall unmoved, unconvinced. "The crimes mentioned," he comments, "are simply the horrors which everyone who knows the East expects in Eastern war."†

Mr. Pickthall thinks it highly improbable that the murder of the Armenian people was connived at by the Turkish Government.

That opinion is not shared by Mr. T. P. O'Connor. In

\* *New Age*, November 4, 1915. † *Ibid.*, November 25, 1915.

his address to the House of Commons on November 17, 1915, Mr. O'Connor said :

“ There is one great analogy between the Germans in Belgium and the Turks in Armenia, and that is the system and policy which underlie what might be regarded by *superficial observers* as mere sporadic or individual blood lust. . . . This movement was simultaneous in fifty centres, and therefore, evidently, was obeying *a central impulse, a central command from the heart of the Turkish Empire.*”\*

Lord Robert Cecil, speaking on the same occasion, stated :

“ That no more horrible crime had been committed in the history of the world. . . . There was no provocation on the part of the Armenians. . . . The crime was a deliberate one, not to punish an insurrection, but to destroy the Armenian race.”

Here is another of Mr. Pickthall's statements strangely at variance with the facts as far as they can be known :

“ The chief desire of the present rulers in Turkey has always been to prove their country worthy to take rank among the civilized, enlightened empires of the world, and their *ideas of civilization and enlightenment are derived from English and French sources, and not from German frightfulness.*”

Compare with this view Lord Bryce's, in his preface to Mr. Arnold Toynbee's *Armenian Atrocities* :

“ The massacres are the result of a policy which as far as can be ascertained, has been entertained for some considerable time by the gang of unscrupulous adventurers who are now in possession of the Government of the Turkish Empire. They hesitated to put it in practice

\* Italics are mine.

until they thought the favourable moment had come, and that moment seemed to be about the month of April. That was the time when these orders were issued, orders which came down in every case from Constantinople, and which the officials found themselves obliged to carry out on pain of dismissal."

And Mr. Pickthall notwithstanding, we have the strongest evidence as to German "frightfulness" being one of the main factors in this series of unparalleled outrages.

"*This shameful and terrible page of modern history which is unfolding in distant Armenia is nothing but an echo, an extension of the main story, the central narrative which must describe the German incursion into Belgium fourteen months ago. That was the determining act. That was the signal to Turk and Kurd.*"\*

For it must be borne in mind that every large town in the Turkish Empire is in telegraphic communication with Constantinople. And as the Turkish Ministers flashed their infamous orders to their terrorized representatives, Von Jagow, through his Ambassador at Constantinople, could have sent counter-orders to the active German Consuls, whose prestige is unlimited, and who were to be found in all the administrative centres where these horrors were being perpetrated. And did not Germany take upon herself a full share of undying shame and guilt when, at the end of the first year of the war, she announced through the Imperial Chancellor of the German Empire that the German nation had brought about the "Regeneration of Turkey"? And the Armenian massacres and deportations had been already begun four months earlier, and were still going on.

As to Turkish ideas of enlightenment and civilization being derived from English and French sources, facts

\* *New York Tribune*, October 8, 1915.

stoutly negative the absurd statement. Well might England and France cry: "Defend us from our friends!"

In order to whitewash the Turks, Mr. Pickthall resorts to the well-worn expedient of drawing distinctions between the Turks and the Kurds. But, as clearly stated in the earlier pages of this article, it is now proved that all the orders for massacre and outrage were issued from Constantinople, and were mostly carried out by Turkish officers. For instance, there is the historical case of Marsovan, where the Turkish officers forced the Armenian male population to dig a trench outside the town, then shot or bayoneted them all, and flung their bodies into the trench dug by their own hands, which thus became their grave. The Kurds had no hand in this and other similar atrocities.

But let us for argument's sake concede Mr. Pickthall's contention that it was the Kurds who perpetrated these monstrous deeds—and they certainly took their full share in them—does that exonerate the Turk? Does it not rather seal the condemnation of him and his "civilized" Government? For a Government under which such deeds continue to occur has not the right to live another day, and it is sad beyond measure to find Englishmen who can apply the terms "civilized" and "enlightened" to such a rule. And is it not infinitely creditable to the Armenians to have insistently demanded reforms which should insure the *minimum* security of life, and honour, and property? On account of this elementary righteousness Mr. Pickthall and other Turcophiles have accused the Armenians of separatism, and when, failing to get the least of these just demands granted, the Armenians have protested and resorted to some measure of self-defence, these same Turcophiles have accused them of rebellions and insurrections, and have justified the unprovoked and systematized murder of a whole nation of innocent men, women, and children as a legitimate procedure in "Defence of the Realm" in Turkey!

BUT the climax of misrepresentation is reached when the British Government is made responsible for Turkish lawlessness and for the present awful state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire.

With a fine oblivion of all that has gone before, Mr. Pickthall insinuates that the present horrors would have been averted had the British Government in 1913 acceded to the insincere request of the Turkish Government to furnish inspectors to overlook the reforms to be carried out in Armenia.

I, at that time, like many others, imperfectly acquainted with the facts, felt grieved at the decision of our Foreign Office to withhold the solicited help. This was partly because I recalled the pleadings of exiled Liberal Turkish statesmen whom I had met in Paris, Cairo, and elsewhere, that England should go even to the length of a British occupation of Turkey in order to save her from exploitation by the unpatriotic Young Turk Government, which, they assured me, was selling their country into the hands of the Teuton; partly because I saw that, despite our sins, chiefly of omission, the Ottoman peoples still loved and trusted the English beyond all other Europeans, as do all the Near Eastern peoples at the present moment—hence their preference for us as enemies, paradoxical as that may seem; hence their hostility or neutrality, as the case may be.

I also, with others, overlooked the fact that this request came from the *Committee of Union and Progress*, "those wily stranglers of Union and stiflers of Progress," as the late Princess Nazli of Cairo exclaimed indignantly when, in my pro-Young Turk days, I ventured to plead with her on behalf of the sincerity of their intentions, however far short their practices threatened to fall.

And subsequent events have shown the wisdom of Sir Edward Grey's refusal to walk into the trap so carefully baited with promises of reform.

With this one move they had hoped to achieve three things:

(1) To stop the cry of Armenia for reform.

(2) To bring about strained relations between England and Russia.

(3) To demonstrate to the outside world the impossibility of ameliorating conditions in the ill-fated land of Armenia by rendering abortive all efforts in the direction of reform made by the British officers through those various obstructive methods in which the Turks are such past-masters.

Although the British officers were not forthcoming, on the other hand the Turks were furnished with two capable Europeans—the one Swedish, the other Danish—to fill the post of Inspectors-General of the projected reforms to be carried out in Armenia. And I well remember the high hopes that animated Bogos Nuba Pasha when he unfolded his future plans and desires, and indicated the practical ground-work for those radiant expectations soon to be so tragically and ruthlessly extinguished.

“You see, mademoiselle, enlightened self-interest will insure justice for the Armenians now that it is realized that it is only through the industry and prosperity of her Christian populations that Turkey can hope to discharge her heavy liabilities.”

And he kindly gave me a copy of his plan of reforms and the data on which he based his demonstrations of an argument by which alone he felt, the soulless gang of rulers at Constantinople could be moved. But stupidity is proof against all arguments, even those of “enlightened self-interest.”

Alas! Alas! *Quos deus vult perdere, prius dementat.* By her insane, stupid criminality Turkey has signed her own death-warrant. And “who profits?” asks Mr. Toynbee. Here is his answer:

“Certainly not the Turk, however much it may gratify his envy. . . . The Armenians were the only native element in the Ottoman Empire with a European training and a European character. . . . Who profits? Not the



Armenian, not the Turk. The Armenians, had they been spared, were destined to occupy a very desirable place in the sun, to their own advantage and the benefit of their Turkish neighbours. Are the *Germans* to be their heirs and executors, and is that the 'Regeneration of Turkey' to which the Imperial Chancellor alluded so paradoxically in August, 1915?"

Let Turkey beware! And let Mr. Pickthall and his friends take their courage in both hands and admit that, like greater and wiser men before them, they have been mistaken. Let them avow, with the frankness and sincerity of the late noble Lord Salisbury, "that they have backed the wrong horse."

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## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

### A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

A FULL report of the East India Association proceedings appears in another portion of the *Review*.

Memorial services have been held in London to pay tribute to two men whose names are closely associated with life and progress in India : Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.I.E., and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, K.C.I.E. The services for both Briton and Indian had this in common: they brought together friends of widely divergent political opinions, race, and creed, to do honour to men whose individuality attracted by reason of its sincerity and high purpose. Mr. S. H. Swinny presided at the Memorial meeting at the Caxton Hall to Sir Henry Cotton, and other speakers were Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, Mr. F. Green, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. Kidwai, Mr. P. Bannerjee, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Syud Husain, and Mr. Delgado. The note of warm personal friendship was struck by all, and the recognition of Sir Henry's untiring devotion to India's progress and to mutual understanding and co-operation between Britain and India. A service was also held at the Church of Humanity, where Sir Henry was wont to worship, and the address on his life and work was given by Mr. W. F. Westbrook. Lord MacDonnell, Sir Edward Henry, and many old friends, British and Indian, attended.

With H.H. the Aga Khan in the chair, and Lord Harris, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. T. J. Bennett, and other Hindu, Moslem, Parsi, and British friends as speakers, the Memorial service at the Caxton Hall to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was worthy of the distinguished Parsi whose service to his country, as the chairman pointed out, was closely associated with his own city of Bombay, but this fact did not prevent him from finding wider opportunities of service ; on the contrary, it helped. During his long public career of fifty years, he gained and kept the confidence of his own people and of the British in India, who appointed him to posts of responsibility and honour,

including the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Bombay. Lord Harris paid a noteworthy tribute to his former opponent in recognizing him as a resolute and fair fighter, and a staunch adherent to the principles in which he believed. "If Sir Pherozeshah, before his death, could have been asked who of all the Governors of Bombay had given him the most trouble, he would have said me," declared Lord Harris, "but looking back over the softening effect of distance, with maturer age, and a less keen desire to succeed, I should be sorry now to say that I was right and he was wrong. I acknowledge that his arguments were sound, and possibly they were right."

The commemoration in London of Keshub Chunder Sen as a great son of India has now become an annual event on the anniversary of his birth, November 19, and the celebration, by bringing into prominence his achievements and character, is more than a valuable lesson in history, it is a welcome stimulus to the younger generation of to-day; it reveals one of the makers of modern India and makes plain the debt which posterity owes to such reformers. Sir Krishna Gupta, as President of the London Brahmo Somaj, at whose invitation a large company gathered at 21, Cromwell Road, dealt principally, in this year's address, with the social reform work of Keshub Chunder Sen. Throughout his brief but busy life he championed the cause of temperance, the advancement of women, the service of charity, and the introduction of technical education. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Sir Harry Stevens, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Mr. G. R. S. Mead, and Dr. Walter Walsh, took part in the commemoration, and the latter, summing up the speeches, laid stress on the fact that because he desired to share with others whatever he had gained for himself, Keshub Chunder Sen was a great teacher, a great reformer, "one of the greatest influences of our times and all times to come."

The dominant question of the education of Indian girls was the subject of an important lecture to the National Indian Association at 21, Cromwell Road, by Miss Mercy Ashworth, who for some years has been inspectress of schools in the Bombay Presidency. Sir Frederick Lely presided, and strongly supported Miss Ashworth in insisting that the subject was of vital importance to-day, and in regretting that the Government had not yet established a High School for Girls in Bombay to do for them what the Elphinstone High School had done for boys. Miss Ashworth gave an illuminating account of various schools for girls in the Presidency, and paid tribute to the keen interest taken by some members of the Bombay Municipality in their vernacular schools. Bombay, she maintained, was unique in the matter of education; there was comparative freedom from purdah restrictions, and among the Parsis education was advanced. Initiative rested more with the people than with the Government, but a High School for Girls and Training College for women teachers are still a crying need. Her descriptions of schools due to private initiative were very interesting; even Madame Montessori, she

said, could have found some of her ideas anticipated. She mentioned the Hon. Mr. Chichgar's school as "a most interesting and flourishing experiment." The future development of women's education in Bombay, she considered, depends to a great extent on the Anglo-Vernacular or higher grade schools. These are the schools which are to produce the future women teachers and doctors, for whom there is real demand. Sir Frederick Lely told an interesting experience which happened at the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, during his service. It was the custom, he said, for the student who passed first in the degree examination to receive a Fellowship for twelve months, during which time he lectured in the College in one of the Faculties. On one occasion a Nagar Brahmin lady won the distinction, and she lectured to the students most successfully for a whole year.

The Indian Women's Education Association has altered its constitution to include men, and has admitted them to official positions, except as Vice-Presidents. The following now hold office: Patrons: H.H. the Dowager Maharani of Coochbehar, H.H. Maharani of Mourbhanj; President: Lady Muir Mackenzie; Vice-Presidents: The Hon. Mrs. Franklin, Lady Lely, Lady Emily Lutyens, Lady Lyall, Lady Cecilia Roberts, Lady Wedderburn; Hon. Treasurer: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., 84, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.; Hon. Secretaries: Miss Bonnerjee (temporarily absent), Mrs. Haigh, 11, King Street, Kensington Square, W.; Committee: Sir K. G. Gupta, K.C.S.I. (Chairman), Mr. A. Yusuf Ali (I.C.S., retired), Mrs. Ali Baig, Miss Behrens, Mrs. Beverley, Mrs. Bhola Nauth, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Mrs. Cobb, Mrs. K. P. Gupta, Mr. Syud Hossain, Miss Powell, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. Simpson, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Miss Tagart, Mrs. Cobden Unwin. The officers and committee are elected for two years; there must always be a majority of ladies on the committee. Meetings are to be held quarterly unless special emergency arises, in which case an extra meeting will be called. A report will be issued annually, with a statement of accounts and a list of members. Subscriptions (minimum 5s.) are due in January each year.

The aims of the Association are: (1) To provide Indian teachers trained in England for Indian schools; (2) To establish a Training College in India; (3) To institute inquiries into the state of the education of women in India, and to take such measures as may be deemed advisable to invite Government co-operation in achieving these aims.

The need for bringing medical aid to the women of India was clearly brought out by the address which Mrs. A. L. Emanuel gave at the November meeting of the Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club, London. She drew a series of vivid word pictures of her Indian women friends, with whom she has come into touch principally because, though not a qualified doctor, she was willing to give them help and advice in simple ailments, and with regard to the upbringing of their children. The news passed from mouth to mouth, and more and more women and children came for help, whether

she were at home or travelling with her husband through his district. It became necessary to appoint hours of consultation, and after some time the confidence of the women of all classes grew so great in their new-found friend that they would undergo any treatment Mrs. Emanuel recommended. She soon found it necessary to establish a dispensary, and eventually the work grew beyond her. So she collected money and engaged a qualified woman doctor under whom she did duty as nurse. Now Mrs. Emanuel runs two hospitals, one with six beds, the other with two, and employs two women doctors; Indian girls are trained as dispensers, midwives, and nurses, and there is an average attendance of two hundred per day in the hospitals. "My two hundred a day are but a drop in the ocean of the vast needs of Indian women, but it is a happiness to know that within driving distance of my two hospitals none need be without medical attention if they wish it." This was Mrs. Emanuel's summing up of her work, but she is anxious to extend it. Recently Government has granted her £100 a year, but she has to rely on the generosity of friends and sympathizers for further necessary financial help. Her stories included descriptions of the rich and leisured, the poor and suffering, the capable and energetic, for whom the training was a blessing in making them trusted helpers, and girls eager for education, ready to face any hardships in order to become doctors or teachers. Yet with all the stories there was the common bond of womanhood and interest in women's interests which are the same the world over. Her work had revealed so much of happiness in service, broadened outlook and widened sympathies, that Mrs. Emanuel urged English women in, or going to, India, to determine to know their Indian sisters.

The scene was in London, but, as far as possible, Oriental setting and atmosphere were produced when Ratan Devi (Mrs. Coomaraswamy) gave a recital of Indian songs at the Aeolian Hall. The large audience was in semi-darkness, but the light fell upon the singer as she sat on the floor and with, or without, her own accompaniment on the tambura, sang classic Indian rāgas and Kashmiri folk songs. Ratan Devi has a beautiful and flexible voice, and in a comparatively short time has entered with enthusiasm into the spirit of Indian music, committing music and words in their originals to memory. Dr. Coomaraswamy gave short speeches on the classical and folk songs, and Eugene Gossens, jun., played violin solos by Bach. The evident appreciation of the audience will, no doubt, encourage Dr. and Mrs. Coomaraswamy to give other recitals of Indian music.

The Eastern League, in view of the demand for warm clothing and comforts for the Indian soldiers during the winter, holds its working-parties three times a week—on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, from 3 to 6 p.m. in the Indian Room, kindly placed at its disposal by Messrs. Whiteley and Co., Westbourne Grove. An entertainment in aid of the funds of the League was given at the Royal Automobile Club on December 11; it was

largely attended. Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., spoke on the work of the League and the splendid service India was rendering to the Empire in the war, paying tribute to the valour of the Indian soldiers. Mrs. P. L. Roy expressed the thanks of the League to the Committee of the Royal Automobile Club for their kindness in lending the large hall on the occasion. The Endick troupe supplied the entertainment.

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Sir Murray Hammick took the place of Sir Theodore Morison, who was to have presided at the last House Dinner at 21, Cromwell Road. Sir Theodore, having accepted a commission in the army, was absent on military duty; special good wishes were sent to him. Sir Murray gave a short address on the effects of the war upon the national character of England and the Empire. These informal dinners are much appreciated by students and British and Indian friends; they will be continued in the New Year.

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In his suggestive paper on "The Indian Jute Industry," read by Mr. C. C. McLeod, President of the London Jute Association, before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, on December 16, he expressed the opinion that another million acres might be added to the existing area under jute, but that the question of labour would bar the way, and considered that improved agricultural methods must be relied upon to increase the crop. He did not consider that the plant had deteriorated in recent years, but thought the rush to grow it with insufficient labour had gradually led to carelessness in harvesting and curing, consequent on the desire to get it on to the market and secure the high prices now ruling. He pointed out that jute is used in every part of the globe for the internal carriage of goods, and quoted the official enumeration of fifteen uses to which it is put. It has also been extensively used for sandbags during the war, and Mr. McLeod declared that it has no rival. The Germans, he added, have recently exploited a fibrous plant (*Epilobium hirsutum*) which they assert will oust jute, but Mr. McLeod's opinion was that, even if it had the spinning qualities of jute, the cost of production would be prohibitive. In view of the value of jute to India and the Indian ryot, and the great future demand for this monopoly of Bengal, he urged "a different system of handling," so that after the war Germany and Austria do not "receive our jute on the same terms as British subjects, without contributing a farthing towards the heavy expenditure and consequent taxation that is imposed on the country which produces the monopoly." Sir John Hewett presided, and supported the lecturer in his contention that Germany should not get jute without a tariff; Mr. T. J. Bennett considered that at a time of party truce the subject of Free Trade and Preference might be considered calmly on its merits; and Mr. Woolacott pointed out that it was not enough to hit Germany; the man who grows the crop must be considered.

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Mr. Stephen Graham's University Extension Lectures on Russia, dealing with the national spirit and the modern movement, attracted wide atten-

tion. Mr. Graham is in demand as an exponent of Russia, especially with regard to present movements and their future influence in Russia and beyond. He lectured last month on these questions before the Anglo-Russian Literary Society.—M. Alexis Aladin, ex-Member of the Russian Duma, was described by Sir Horatio Shephard as a missionary to dissipate the ignorance existing in this country about Russia. This was at a meeting of the Northbrook Society on December 17, when M. Aladin spoke on “India and Russia.” He began with their point of contact—Central Asia—and showed that with regard to population there could be no fear of Russian designs on India. Russia’s 170 millions of inhabitants are dense in Europe, but dwindle to an average of one man per square mile in Central Asia. He referred to the Skobelev incident of 1881, and declared that this *beau sabreur* of thirty-two years of age was desirous of gaining prominence, but was without experience, and characterized the famous letter as “silly.” As a leader of democracy in Russia, M. Aladin protested against the idea that 170 millions of people could be swayed by the will of one man, and pointed to the excellent work carried out by the self-governing municipal communities. He said that the heart of Russia was not in the Russo-Japanese War, but Russians were determined to fight the present war to the bitter end, despite their enormous losses. He spoke of the long struggle for liberty, and said that India was fortunate in developing her liberty under the ægis of the liberty-loving British race.

A. A. S.

### THE ARTS OF ASIA.

For the first time since the existence of the China Society, a joint meeting was held at the opening meeting of the 24th year of the Japan Society, and it is to be hoped that it will be the herald of others. The lecturer, Mr. Laurence Binyon, has acquired in his capacity at the British Museum a knowledge of Japanese prints and paintings, and of Chinese paintings, which has already found expression in one or two books; he is equally well known as a poet and a writer of rare force and elegance. The large, fashionable audience (too large for a miserably small hall) which sat at his feet testified to his popularity, and his lecture was tuned to the probably elementary acquaintance of the bulk of his auditors with the Arts of Asia. It was not a paper from which the learned could glean anything except a lesson in the art of English prose and the graces of easy delivery. The survey it gave of the arts of Persia, India, China, and incidentally—very incidentally indeed—of the existence of fine arts in Japan, was general in its treatment, though perhaps rather fuller on the pictorial side, and lacking something on the side of sculpture. It was well illustrated by numerous lantern slides, selected with care, and described in a language wholly admiring—indeed, somewhat overburdened with the whole arsenal of adjectives expressive of admiration, and that feeling the lecturer instilled in his audience, who wholeheartedly agreed with him in every case. Such is the hypnotic power of a fine speaker that people discovered at his bidding hidden beauties which their own unaided eyes had passed by in

the Heringham copies of the Ajanta paintings at South Kensington, in well-known sculptures, and even in a cliff figure of Kapila, somewhat out of proportion and in a pose absurdly natural, which they were told was new. One could not help feeling that much was suppressed which might have been said, particularly respecting the religious influences, and the distinction to be made between the inspired carver or limner of gods and his follower, the mere hack, working for the million; and the connecting-links between the countries and their artistic impulses were rather thinly adumbrated. In one particular the lecturer made a strong point; he showed how the Chinese figures tend to become *outrées* in their feeling of life, how every line betokens movement and unbounded energy, whilst Indian art has much more repose. Both forms have their charms, but the calm features of the Indian and of some of the Japanese figures have a dignity, a strength, concealed behind the everlastingly smiling and restful face, which are almost always lacking in those Chinese gods and demons saturated with the lust of life and movement. However, we do not intend to criticize—to do so it would be necessary to have the whole lecture in print—yet we must say that, having regard to the occasion, two Japanese paintings and one Utamaro print, thrown on the screen, were a scanty recognition of Japanese art, inviting comment. —SHOSANKEN.

A lecture was delivered on November 27 at the Guild of Social Fellowship, 16, Fellowes Road, Hampstead, by Miss F. R. Scatterd, on British Diplomacy in the Balkans and the Near East.

Two things, the lecturer insisted, should be borne in mind—First, that British Diplomacy was not the only determining factor in bringing about affairs as they found them at that time. British diplomacy was hampered and restricted in its action by the diplomacy of the other Great Powers, and it was most misleading, most unjust, to express oneself as certain organs of public opinion, did and imply that the present situation in Europe might have been avoided had British statesmen only acted otherwise. The second thing that must never be overlooked was this: no final judgment could be passed until all the factors in each case were known. This obviously was an impossibility at this stage of affairs, therefore anything in the nature of a verdict must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*—it must be understood as being a purely personal expression of the aspect that then presented itself to the speaker at that moment, open to modification at any time when another factor should shed new light upon the situation being discussed.

The lecturer did not intend to deal with material already in the possession of the public, nor was it proposed to give statistics and data that could be looked up in any encyclopædia. The purport of the address was mainly to throw a vivid light on the *human* rather than the official aspects of that seething maelstrom, the Near Eastern Question, which had so long threatened the peace of Europe, and which now, alas! had brought about a catastrophe in which the whole world, directly or indirectly, was then involved.



Bearing in mind the provisos laid down at the outset, the lecturer gave a vivid account of experiences at first hand, which led to certain tentative conclusions as to why diplomacy, especially British diplomacy, had not always achieved what it might have been expected to achieve. All throughout her travels she had seen failure after failure to avert, or to secure a certain object, brought about by the ignorance of facts essential to ensure success. The most amusing and the most tragic results coming under the lecturer's own observation had arisen because the official in question (so it seemed to the lecturer) was wilfully or innocently ignorant of facts, or language, or psychological *data* necessary to enable him to meet the situation.

Various illustrations were furnished. The illusions which had led to pro-Turk and pro-Bulgarian sympathies, so 'nocuous to the Allied interests recently, had probably arisen from lack of psychological knowledge. E.g. : A Turkish statesman had been incensed by an outspoken expression of opinion. He grew more and more suave, more and more gentle. He left the room calmly, and returned more respectfully than before. He had simply gone outside to curse and rave and supplicate vengeance on the speaker's head, as the lecturer ascertained from a mutual friend. It struck no one else to enquire why he had left the room. On another occasion a Greek minister was made very indignant by being taken to task for a refusal to discharge what the lecturer deemed to be his duty. The Greek flew into an undiplomatic rage, and banged a door. Then the lecturer understood how the idea of the "gentlemanly" Turk and the "barbarian" Greek had originated in the official mind.

Western officialdom was too apt to be in a hurry. On returning from Greece and Turkey in the spring of 1910, she found the foreign editors of the German and Austrian press so well informed of all that was going on in the Near East that it was difficult to believe they had not lived there.

The foreign editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna took her into confidence :

"No, Fräulein. I have never been to Crete or Turkey, but I receive everyone who calls. If I find them no good, I dismiss them. If, on the other hand, I find they give evidence of possessing judgment and knowledge of facts, *wie Sie Fräulein!* then I am very grateful to them for coming to see me."

A point (she thought) in which she found the British representatives proved sometimes at fault was a tendency to take everything for granted, never to thank people for "doing their duty" or rendering a service. This is an error. The Oriental is warm-hearted, childlike, and responsive. The lecturer had no more enthusiastic or more devoted friends than among her Eastern comrades, who when once they vow fealty are true to the death. The British do not care to be thanked for what they do, and do not think of thanking others. They take all expressions of goodwill as a matter of course, and then express astonishment when guarantees are required that they will not abandon their friends, whose enemies they may have persistently supported, as in the case of Greece and Bulgaria.

A rapid survey of Balkan events from 1909 down to the present, as they appeared to the lecturer, was then given.

The conclusion arrived at was that, regarded as a whole, British diplomacy had kept to the older traditions of honour and chivalry, and had realized that some failures were better than success. It was often a case of the children of darkness being wiser than the children of light. No honest man would care to achieve success at the price the Central Powers seemed willing to pay.

Mr. Machonochie presided. An animated discussion followed the questions invited by the lecturer.

### SLAVONIC STUDIES.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Slavonic subjects generally are less familiar in England than they deserve to be. Russia, "the big brother" of the Slavonic family, our steadfast and gallant ally, is gradually becoming better understood—though much work lies before—thanks to the efforts of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society since 1893, among other bodies, but few are acquainted with the other Slavs beyond a small band of scholars and travellers. The work of the late savant, Professor W. R. Morfill, is continued and developed at Oxford by Dr. Nevill Forbes, and Professor Goudy labours at Cambridge. A School of Slavonic Studies was inaugurated at King's College (London University), Strand, last October, and has already achieved important results. The staff includes Professor T. G. Masaryk, Ph.D., of the Czech University of Prague, and member of the Austrian Reichsrath; Dr. R. W. Seaton-Watson, D.Litt., a recognized authority on Austria and the Middle East; Mr. M. V. Trofimov, of Petrograd and Liverpool Universities; and Mr. S. Tucic, of Agram. The School was inaugurated by Professor Masaryk's public lecture on "The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis;" Dr. Seaton-Watson has spoken on the movement for Southern Slav unity; Professor Popovic has lectured on Serb ballad poetry; and Professor Masaryk gave a second lecture on Bohemia and her aspirations. Courses of lectures for London County Council teachers have been delivered by Dr. Nevill Forbes on the Slavs outside Russia, and by Dr. Seaton-Watson on the Balkan peoples, while Mr. Trofimov has arranged to give a course on Russia. Classes are held for Russian and Serbian, and probably other Slav tongues will receive attention. A syllabus of forthcoming arrangements can be obtained from King's College.

LINES ON THE ACCESSION  
 TO THE THRONE OF H.I.J.M. YOSHI-HITO,  
 122ND EMPEROR OF JAPAN  
 (NOVEMBER 10, 1915)\*

From the far seas  
 A gentle zephyr, like the harvest stirred  
 By Dawn's first breath, moves over all the land ;  
 Light waves in timid whispers say to each :  
 " A King ascends to-day—*our* Emperor, King.  
 In the great palace of Shi-shin-Den  
 Our King will stand where his forefathers stood,  
 An heir of earth, to claim the waiting crown†  
 And the regalia of the ancient throne  
 Of our loved Empire, over which for long  
 His father, Meiji Tennō, ruled so well !"

And in that solemn hour deep vows were pledged,  
 And blest ancestral spirits communed with.  
 The mystic *Mirror*, Sword, and Jewel, passed  
 To yet another's keeping‡—into hands

\* The ceremony was held at Kyoto, the ancient City of Tranquillity, in special temples—Shunko-Den and Shi-shin-Den.

† This ceremony is called *Sokui-Shiki*, or, The Accession to the Throne Ceremony, which is the public inauguration of the Emperor. This is equivalent to our English Coronation ceremony, but in Japan the crown does not play an important part. It is merely composed of black silk gauze, very frail of structure, and therefore never used for two successive Emperors. A new crown is always provided when necessary.

‡ The presentation and acceptance—namely, "the inheritance and control"—of the sacred Sword, the *Mirror*, and the Jewel, which are the three

That carry on traditions of a race  
Who claim their first existence from the Sun.

Then later there was yet another stir ;  
It filled not earth alone, but all the air .  
Grew pregnant with the sound that spread abroad  
Far off and near, a sound that trembling came  
From Hokkaidō's cold seas, from Taiwan fair,  
As from the full throat of one singer voiced  
In many tones, yet mingling into one !

Beneath the ethereal arch the *Matsu* stood,  
And stilled their branches to attention's mood ;  
Then, following the hush, the one clear word  
*Banzai ! Banzai !*\* was heard and heard again,  
As if Heaven's doors were ope, and spirit tongues  
Took up the deep refrain and echoed it.

Each lake and rivulet and torrent stayed,  
Each isle and islet joined in true consent  
To aid the regal splendour of that hour.

Mount Fuji† shone triumphant through the mist,  
Glowing and rosy from her spell of dreams,  
Her purple mantle slipping gently down  
To gather in the jewels at her feet,  
The dewdrops morn had laid upon her snows.

emblems of the regalia, constitute the right to rule. These emblems are present on the occasion of the public accession of a newly proclaimed Emperor. They have been in the land since the foundation of the Empire of Japan. The Mirror is the most valued. It is kept hidden in a place of safety, by a special royal custodian, and is seldom brought out from the shrine, except on occasions of great significance.

\* *Banzai ! Banzai !* = salutation to royalty—"Long live the King—for ever !" "May you live 10,000 years !" "May your race never die out !" etc."

† Mount Fuji is often called *Queen* of unrivalled beauty, the Peerless Mountain.

And thus she spake (Queen of the Land was she,  
 Lofty, majestic, worthy to command :  
 A white dove nestling in her bosom rose ;  
 She stayed its flight, to list to her desire) :  
 " I cannot reach the sacred spot he treads,  
 So you my winged ambassador must be.  
 Lay at his feet one pure white feather plucked  
 From your warm breast, yet decked with dew-jewels.  
 Say this as you wing high o'er Biwa's lake :  
 I bless his royal head, fain would I stretch  
 The shadow of my form where'er he treads,  
 A carpet for his feet to wander on,  
 Bedight with flowers that are Heaven's dole to me !"

Then Amaterasu,\* Goddess of Light,  
 Beamed down from depths of azure ether—flung  
 A wide gold glory this auspicious day  
 About the palace walls of Shi-shin-Den,  
 Around the pageantry that flocked to swear  
 Allegiance to their lord of many Isles.  
 And thus from her high throne she did proclaim  
 (Her presence there was as a living seal  
 Set on Tradition's scroll) : " Though you are King  
 Of an enduring dynasty, yet I  
 Am Lady-Mother, Dowager of all  
 Rulers that rule this Empire of the Sun !"

CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY.

\* Amaterasu = the Sun, the "Sun Goddess," also called the "Lady of Light," and the "Heaven-illuminating Spirit." Tradition tells us that she was the offspring of Isanagi and Izanami, the Adam and Eve of Japan. From this heavenly being sprang Jimmu-Tennō, the first Ruler of the Land of the Rising, now Risen, Sun. Japan boasts of an unbroken dynasty. H.I.J.M. Yoshi-Hito is the 122nd Emperor who has ascended the throne of Japan. Long live Emperor Yoshi-Hito !

## COMMERCIAL NOTES

THE Imperial Institute has sent us the following for publication :—

### CEYLON PLUMBAGO.

#### INCREASED USE IN MUNITIONS WORKS—RUSSIA'S PURCHASES.

At the end of last year the important plumbago mining industry in Ceylon was suffering very severely from the loss of the German and Belgian markets, and from other causes connected with the war, and steps were taken by the Imperial Institute to induce users of plumbago in the United Kingdom to buy the whole of their supplies from Ceylon, instead of partly from Ceylon and partly from foreign countries, as previously.

Recent statistics indicate that progress has already been made in this direction, for it is significant that the percentage of Ceylon plumbago exported to the United Kingdom during the first ten months of the present year is considerably greater than in 1913. Moreover, the total exports to this country from January to October this year are more than double those of the corresponding months in 1914, and, in addition, Russia is a large new purchaser.

The most important use of plumbago is in the manufacture of steel works crucibles, which are required to resist the effects of great variations of temperature, and it is gratifying to know that a source within the British Empire is available to supply the demands of our munitions works for the article in question.

## LONDON THEATRE

*Duke of York's Theatre*—"L'Enfant Prodigue."

The revival of the above wordless play, and the enthusiasm with which it was received, has confirmed the popularity which it has always enjoyed. The prodigal son here spends his father's substance on the faithless Phrynette. It was all for her that he left his loving parents; it was all for her that he rifled his father's cash-box, and spent the proceeds on her, and a roof to cover them. And he did it in the gorgeous style which the "union libre" rightly enforces. And so the day came, all too soon, when all the money was spent, and she must needs go off with someone else to pastures new. But time had softened his parents' anger, and they forgive him, especially when he consents to join the war to which morbid strains summon him from without. The music was admirably rendered, and the agreement between the pianist and the actors was perfect. Miss Arnaud's rendering of Phrynette was very pleasing.

## OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the following appointments to the new High Court at Patna :

*To be Chief Justice :*

Mr. E. M. Des C. Chamier.

*To be Puisne Judges :*

Mr. Saiyid Sharf-ud-din.

Mr. E. P. Chapman, Indian Civil Service.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Mullick, Indian Civil Service.

Mr. F. R. Roe, Indian Civil Service.

The Hon. Cecil Atkinson, K.C.

Rai Bahader Jowala Persad.

The Secretary of State for India has made the following appointments to the Indian Educational Service :

Mr. Kurnvila Zachariah, B.A. (Oxon), to be Professor of Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta ;

Mr. Walter Allen Jenkins, M.Sc. (Sheffield), to be Professor of Physics at the Dacca College ; and

Miss Helen Brander, M.A. (Edinburgh), to be Lady Principal of the Girls' High School, Bankipore.

Mr. Henry Samble Staley, M.A. (Cantab), to be Inspector of Schools in the Central Provinces ;

Mr. Adam Alexander Ritchie, M.A., B.Sc. (Aber-



deen), to be Science Master at the Aitchison College, Lahore; and

Mr. Leslie Fernandes Taylor, B.A. (Cantab), to be Principal of the Government High School, Bassein, Burma.

Mr. Sydney George Barker, PH.D. (Berlin), has been appointed to be Vice-Principal at His Highness the Maharajah's Training College at Trivandrum.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL 1, 1916

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## YÜAN SHÍ-K'AI AS *HWANG-TI*

BY E. H. PARKER

THE most determined well-wishers of China, as well as the admirers and defenders of Yüan, must admit that there are certain Gilbertian touches in the *opera data* by him, *ne quid republica detrimenti capiat*. There will be plenty of ground, on the other hand, for shouting *Io triumphe* as the action narrative proceeds; but meanwhile a sop of comfort may be conceded to the Jeremiahs and the pacifists of the Far East in yielding this much against him. The new Emperor, who, it must be remembered, is only, and only wishes to be, a constitutional monarch, and claims no heaven-sent, autocratic, or absolute power—indeed, he expressly *disclaims* all three—had already, as President, been rather effusive with his titles, decorations, and orders; foreigners as well as natives had been liberally doused with Excellent Crop (civil) and Striped Tiger (military) orders, each in four or more degrees of rank. China is not, still less is Yüan, responsible for foreign newspaper translations, and the former term, as a matter of fact, refers to an auspicious incident in the founding of a new dynasty or era 3,000 years ago, whilst the Carved or Striped Tiger (chariot) also refers to certain imperial regalia introduced by a new dispensation of 1,700 years back. Whilst amusing our serio-comic imaginations at poor struggling China's expense, we must, therefore, not omit to reflect how the

European legends of the Garter or the Golden Fleece would lend themselves, when translated, to the witticisms of a mischievous Chinese literary wag. When the unfortunate Admiral Chêng was cruelly assassinated at Shanghai in November last, Yüan, in his fidelity to the memory of a trusty servant, promptly created him an hereditary Marquess with (quite a new thing for China) a perpetual grant of 3,000 *mu* (about a square mile) of good land; the eldest son now, therefore, enjoys both title and estate. This generous but impetuous "hit" was evidently off Yüan's own bat, for his counsellors promptly asked in severe official form what precedent, source, or justification there was for creating a noble under the Constitutional Law of the Republic. The reply was: "Let the patents and other formalities be exactly as under the late Manchu dynasty for the present." The very last mandate Yüan signed as President was one conferring upon Confucius LXXVI. (who thus easily beats, in "countability," the Princes Henry of Reuss) the rank of *K'ün-wang*, or Prince of the Second Class, corresponding in general idea, perhaps, to the graded German *Fürst*, as distinct from *Prinz*. Confucius and his ancestors had already, through several dynasties and for many centuries, been hereditary Dukes, practically the only exception to the strict Manchu rule that no Chinese could ever be a Duke or Prince, or marry a *geboren* Manchu, although swarms of Mongols, Turki, etc., were freely admitted, as being marriageable, to these exalted honours. Then came a week's holiday for the New Year, and on January 6 appears, printed in triumphant red ink, the first number of the *Government Gazette* to introduce the new "reign style" of *Hung-hien*, or "Great Constitution," and, accordingly, all mandates issued subsequently to the Confucian affair of December 31 (*i.e.*, last day of the fourth year of the Republic) bear dates 1st, 2nd, to the 5th day of "Great Statute" (for there never was a Chinese word equivalent to "constitution," and "statute" has been adapted for that purpose to and into the official language since



Confucius the 76th, Hereditary Duke since the 11th century, made Prince on the 31st December, 1915. Born February 1871. His son, born, October 1906.

This photograph was presented by Confucius to a Catholic Priest, who sent it to the writer of this paper.



the year 1905, when, after the *verte réprimande* of Japanese defeat and the consequent desire for popular support, the idea was first seriously discussed). Thus Yüan, who from first to last makes use *himself* of no self-glorifying imperial phraseology, and in no way modifies the modest shape and almost democratic wording of his mandates as evolved up to date, ingeniously combines the old idea of a reign title attached to the *personality* of a monarch with the idea of an impersonal constitution which may go on for ever, no matter who may be *yüan-shou*, or "head of the State"—an expression he freely makes use of in explaining his status. He pays no heed whatever to the fulsome expressions indulged in day by day and bit by bit by his faithful lieges in *crescendo* scale, such as "sacred glance," "all-highest," "your Majesty," "heavenly decision," and so on; he does not even protest when the "coiled dragon's" (*i.e.*, undisclosed genius) services are depicted by his acclaimers: how he first raised a true army; how he defeated the intrigues of 1898; how he prevented the completion of the Boxer fiasco; how by conciliatory action he got rid of the foreign armies of occupation, and started a grand career of Chinese reform at Tientsin; how he insisted there on educational reconstruction and the immediate abolition of the futile degree examination fetish; how he was ordered up from his viceregal Tientsin post to take charge of foreign affairs at Peking in 1907, and to act as general adviser; how he then persistently advocated, in the face of reactionary opposition, a National Assembly, local and town councils, financial and educational reform, and a "trust the people" policy generally; in a word, how he performed all those meritorious services which the writer of the present article has enumerated and insisted upon in five previous articles already contributed on this subject to the ASIATIC REVIEW since the year 1912. He never brags or blusters in the style of "*Der Süsser*." There is only one instance in which Yüan, whilst ignoring servile nonsense, actually protests, and it does him high credit; he says (Decem-

ber 18) that he notices with pain how his old colleagues, military and civil, are, one after the other, beginning to say "your subject." He adds: "True, I (he never says *We*) have become Prince or head of the State, in spite of my innate unworthiness, but this is because the dangers of the time require it, and the people see it and approve it; still, I have in no way the pretension to be on a par in quality with our ancient Emperors, and must beg my old colleagues, at least, kindly to refrain, when addressing me officially, from the use of the expression 'your subject.'" In another mandate he refers to the discovery by Europeans of a fossil dragon in a cave near the treaty port of Ichang, and says he will be pleased if this discovery should, on further inquiry, turn out to have genuine scientific importance; but he ridicules at the same time the suggestion made to him that it is Heaven's omen of the uncoiled dragon (*i.e.*, disclosed Emperor), and says: "My only omen of fitness is a passion for the welfare of the Chinese people."

To return for a moment to our sop thrown in advance to adverse critics. The wholesale ennobling of high territorial officials which took place on December 21 was, perhaps, a policy of doubtful wisdom, if only because by its sheer promiscuousness it tended, when coupled with the previous broadcast and almost daily showering upon Chinese and foreigners alike of the republican orders and decorations above described, to make the new "imperial" honours cheap and ridiculous, almost lowering their value to the level of the absurd Prussian Iron Cross, the *absence* of which now threatens to become a mark of real distinction, bringing to mind the well-known exclamatory remark of Talleyrand when the British Ambassador in plain evening dress entered a reception-room blazing with decorated French, German, Russian, and other civil and military officials: *Mais, comme c'est vraiment distingué!* Moreover, the arbitrary dividing off into Dukes, Marquesses, Counts, Viscounts, and Barons was of itself calculated to create immediate jealousies and

bad blood, for each military or civil governor would of course promptly ask: "Why should A be a Marquess, whilst I, B, am only a Viscount? What have I done amiss that C should have precedence of me? Was I ever a self-constituted *tutuh*? Is my loyalty doubtful?" It must be remembered that many of the provincial governors actually in power are still the original *tutuh*s who "pronounced" during the revolution of 1911 without asking "for your leave," or even saying "by your leave." In July, 1912, when Yuan was firmly seated as temporary President, he "officially confirmed" most of these "appointments," and thus obtained a solid ground qualifying himself to give them "orders," which at first he had been particularly chary of doing. Then his next steps were to grant them special leave, arrange exchanges of posts, send for them to consult, and so on; meanwhile, he had to deal with several revolutions and rebellions, run the central Government without cash balances at Peking or remittances from the provinces, and at the same time keep in hand the restive, plunder-loving soldiery to whom he owed his personal safety. From these cautious steps he gradually proceeded to the summoning to Peking of doubtful personages (Ts'ai Ao, the present arch-rebel in Yun Nan, was one); the unavoidable "whitewashing" of peculators and blunderers who at least had been thoroughly loyal to him, but who had in decency to be removed; the getting quietly rid of old friends (like T'ang Shao-i, for instance) who were unable to follow his policy on party grounds; the breaking up of squabbling parties whose internecine strife threatened to wreck the whole Chinese State; and the dealing with other jealousies and unexpected hitches, both native and foreign. Ts'ai Ao was particularly keen, for instance, in driving away the British on the Burma frontier. Small wonder, therefore, that when almost every prominent man has rendered, or thinks he has rendered, services of some sort, positive or negative, this casting among the promiscuous crowd of an apple of discord in the shape of a brand



new graded "nobility" should be regarded by even his most determined well-wishers as savouring of a boomerang policy likely to recoil upon the thrower. The graceful creation of an O.M. kind of limited order upon four "old cronies" stands upon a different footing, and involves nothing more showy or expensive than an autographed portrait. All these four men are above the tinsel glitter of a coronet; three of them are ex-Viceröys, and the fourth is Chang Kien, a man very well known in Shanghai, who has during the past ten years consistently declined high or lucrative office, and has busied himself chiefly with commercial and industrial progress, railways, improvement of rivers and canals, popular representation, economical development, and so on. Li King-hi's last post was that of Viceroy in Yün Nan, whence the Republicans ejected him in 1911, and where his passionate anti-British policy had for some time much annoyed Prince K'ing, besides leaving the quarrelsome legacy to Ts'ai Ao, who caused similar embarrassment to the President in the summer of 1912; he was (probably for this reason) ordered to Peking to serve in "well-paid inactivity" as "Inspector of all China's frontiers." Li King-hi is too wealthy, as the most prominent senior survivor of the Li Hung-chang family, to care for empty titles, and probably really needs the favour or support of Yüan less than Yüan does that of him; he is therefore a nasty man to be "up against," and, moreover, he has no particular repute for uprightness; the other members of the Li family are "dark horses" for the moment. Sü Shi-ch'ang and Chao Erh-sün were both Viceroys at Mukden (1905-1909), both of excellent repute; the latter was also Viceroy in Sz Ch'wan when his brother Chao Erh-fêng was conquering Tibet. The last-named was murdered as Viceroy in Sz Ch'wan during the revolution; the accompanying photograph of the event was taken by an eye-witness. Sü Shi-Ch'ang (Secretary of State) and Chang Kien were both seized with "the diplomatic illness" when Yüan's imperial chrysalis was developing, and that,

it must be confessed, is rather a bad sign, especially as nearly the whole Cantonese group—none too loyal at any time to any but local interests—are now left out in the cold. Thus it seems plain that, however much foreigners in the interests of trade, and the Chinese people generally in the interests of peace and order, may approve of Yüan's action, there still seem to be not a few of his own friends who view the situation with misgiving. Yüan's whole career, however, is almost without a flaw or unofficial censure so far as recorded history goes, and it is probable that in consenting to become constitutional Emperor he is really rather the unwilling, or perhaps fain the honestly willing, instrument of the powerful military domination that supports him centrally and provincially : and he sees clearly that, oath or no oath, he must "ride the tiger" or be eaten by the animal. Of course, no jealous rival or vindictive enemy will admit this of him, but the writer thinks it likely to be so.

It is remarkable how little is known even in China about Yuan Shih-k'ai's official pedigree. His uncle or great uncle, Yuan Kiah-san, appears in official history as an active agent in suppressing the rebels in 1862-1863 ; amongst other things, he was successful in impeaching the imperial Manchu Generalissimo Shêngpao, who was suspected of acting in collusion with Miao P'ei-lin, the leader of the so-called Nienfei branch of the Taipings. This uncle or great uncle died in 1863 as Imperial Commissioner in the war and titular Viceroy of Transport. His eldest son, Yüan Pao-hêng, was a genuine literary man, and also a member of the Hanlin Academy ; there was another son, Yuan Pao-ling, who was nominally a minor member of the Grand Secretariat at Peking, but does not appear to have attained official eminence. The elder brother did good service against the Nienfei, both with the father and after the father's death, receiving reward for his own special services in 1868, after which he was detached to assist the distinguished Viceroy and Imperial Commissioner Tso

Tsung-t'ang in his ten years' campaign against the Mussulmans and against Yakub Beg of Kashgar ; this lasted till 1874, when he seems from the records to have already left Tso, for in 1876 he reappears as Vice-President of the Board of Punishments, charged with the duty of repairing the Imperial Tombs near Peking. In 1878 he was given a post in connection with the great famine, and lost his life through the plague which followed (the writer's personal experiences of this famine are described in "John Chinaman," chap. i, Murray, 1901). A cousin of his named Yüan Pao-k'ing had been in office in Kiang Su province, but was dead in 1878 ; it is highly probable that this cousin was the father of Yüan Shih-k'ai, and is the man who, under the manifestly posthumous title of "the lord Yüan Twan-min," has recently been recommended to the new Emperor for "temple honours," though it is not stated in either the memorial or the mandate that such is the case. There is still another Yuan who has just been recommended for "honours in the temple of the God of War," and this is a certain Yüan Ch'ung-hwan, who, as Imperial Commissioner of the Ming dynasty, bravely defended that corrupt house against Manchu incursions, and seems to have been executed by the Manchus when they entered Peking in 1644 ; but this man is distinctly stated to have been born in Canton, so that his relationship with Yüan Shih-k'ai's father's and uncle's family of Ho Nan province needs further elucidation ; but as all respectable Chinese families have genealogy records extending back (usually) 2,000 years or so, this point can easily be settled by inquiry in China. Yüan himself was only a *tung-chi*, or titular sub-prefect, when he was attached in 1882-1884 to Admiral-General Wu Ch'ang-k'ing's forces in Corea. In consequence of the murder of the Queen and the destruction of the Japanese Legation in the autumn of 1882, it was decided to arrest the King's father and "exile him for ever." Neither Li Hung-chang nor Yüan Shih-k'ai can be credited (if credit there be) with this smart *coup*, for Li Hung-chang was away in mourning for his mother at

the time, and the one-tooth grim warrior Chang Shu-shêng (see "China Past and Present," Chapman and Hall, 1903, p. 102, for the writer's experiences of this Viceroy) was during the hundred days' mourning temporarily acting for Li at Tientsin; but in the winter of 1884 Yüan Shī-k'ai, then serving under or with General Wu Chao-yu, was the first to report to Tientsin the second Korean massacre, news of which was immediately wired by Li Hung-chang to Peking. Yüan seems to have been sent for to explain in person, for in 1885 he came back to Corea with the peccant royal parent in his charge, forgiven by the Emperor at the instant prayer of his feeble son the King. The writer was perhaps the first foreigner to interview the King's father and Yüan at Chemulpo; descriptions of this interview and narratives of other matters connected with Yüan will be found in "John Chinaman." It was Sir Harry Parkes who had designed a policy for Corea, but his unfortunate death at Peking removed the "master hand," and things soon "went to pieces" in consequence.

The real history of the Emperor Yüan Shī-k'ai, free of all undue favour and prejudice alike, may accordingly thus be summed up: Son of quite an ordinary man, who never made his official mark in any way, connected none the less with a family that had done really honourable service to the State, born in a part of China where all the best Confucian traditions and simple "Old China" ways are inherent in the soil, Yüan, in 1882, obtained a petty civil post attached to the Chinese armies then watching dynastic intrigues in Corea. Being of a naturally direct, straight-thinking, courageous, and democratic frame of mind, he fell in easily with the Admiral-General's somewhat original notion of kidnapping the King's father, and being (then) a good-looking young fellow and a nice man to chat with, evidently struck Li Hung-chang as being just the person required to accompany the repentant old man back to his weak and foolish royal son. There, at Soul, Yüan was for the first time confronted with a mixed society of British, American, Russian, Japanese, and other foreign officials, all amorphous

in status and tentative-temporary in action like himself, but all united by one common personal sympathy with Yüan, as being civilized beings *in partibus infidelium*. For want of anything better to do in such a "God-forsaken country," as they used to call it, most of these officials were intriguing for all they were worth, with the object of not being "left" in case a general "grab" took place; but Yüan kept his head through it all, thoroughly enjoyed the fun, and impressed at least one individual (the writer) with the conviction that he was "straight"; but straightness does not always pay with diplomatists, so Yüan, after the writer left, seems to have been more and more suspected, until he had ultimately to clear out, *re infecta* so far as Chinese interests were concerned. After the Japanese War, Yüan was under a temporary cloud and forgotten; he had, meanwhile, during his twelve years' service, become first a *taotai* and then a Judge. In good old Chinese incongruous style, the Judge was considered a good sort of man to train up a genuine modern army. Why not? Lord Haldane had a success with his Territorials. Yüan's unrivalled experiences and confidential chats with foreigners in Corea had taught him a thing or two, more especially that China was governed by humbug---futile examinations, ridiculous pigtailed, the barren classics, dishonesty, national conceit, military incompetency, naval corruption, etc. --and he consequently utilized the exceptional knowledge his naturally receptive brain had absorbed by training a disciplined and *paid* army. Then came the incident of 1898, when a pushing Cantonese of the Enver Pasha type, in his excessive zeal (perhaps well meant) for reform, got the inexperienced young Emperor to try and make use of Yüan's really effective army (the first honestly paid and honestly trained army China had ever known) to run his aunt-mother the Dowager in, and murder her nephew Junglu (said by some to have once been her boyish paramour) then Viceroy at Tientsin, and Yüan's military supreme chief; but there was "nothing doing," and the Emperor himself was run in for life by the irate Dowager. In all this Yüan acted up to the very

highest canons of Chinese honour and ethics, and the writer pointed this out at the time over and over again in various books and magazines (1898-1901), always insisting upon it that China's hope lay in Yüan. Naturally the old Dowager was grateful, and Yüan accordingly soon found himself installed as Governor of Shan Tung. Then came the mad Boxer affair. If Yüan (at the Boxer centre) had joined in, things would have gone ill with the Legation refugees; but luckily, despite his personal loyalty to the Dowager, his anti-humbug instincts came well to the fore. Accordingly, he had a score or two of "invulnerable" Boxers summoned to be tested by his own foreign-drilled troops in his own *yamen*; the whole of them were shot dead, in spite of their holy invulnerability. He next arranged with Wu Ting-fang, at Washington, to get telegrams through to Peking, and (aided by the sensible Junglu at Peking, and the Viceroy Liu K'un-yih at Nanking, who, by the way, was another "straight" acquaintance of the writer's) managed, with the further co-operation of the *doctrinaire* but by no means impracticable Viceroy Chang Chi-tung, of Hankow, to save the situation—in fact, they drew up a "treaty" with Shanghai, placing foreign trade out of Boxer bounds. Up to then he was still a youth compared with the other two (he was only twenty-seven in 1886), and thus for several years took, as he had to take, a back seat in the negotiations for reform which followed. The whole of the splendid State papers of these three Viceroys (Yüan, on Li Hung-chang's death had been promoted as Viceroy) are in the writer's possession, and he therefore knows fairly well what he is writing about. Liu and Yuan are really the two rare birds (honest, straightforward men) who have reformed China. It is a matter of common knowledge, attainable by any foreigner in China, how splendidly Yüan ruled and reformed during his five years at Tientsin; the results are before everyone's eyes there now. Tientsin was frankly accepted by both Peking and the provinces as a model for *all* reforms. In 1907 he was sent for to Peking, as a worrying combination of new "Constitution" business and

foreign affairs difficulties had proved more than the *doctri-naire* Chang Chi-tung (who had been first sent for) could effectively tackle. (Liu K'un-yih had been already dead for some years; he never would have anything to do with Peking, which place he loathed, where his uncouth "Doric" spoken dialect moreover,—which he could not in the least change—was found quite incomprehensible.) Yüan had a desperate struggle; he and Chang Chi-tung became almost personal enemies. For his own protection he had to run a newspaper of his own, and join in a Press campaign alike against revolutionists and reactionaries. Meanwhile, the hopelessly degenerate Manchus, thinking of nothing but raking in the dollars, indulging in concubines, jewels, opium, etc., were drifting from bad to worse. In 1898 the Emperor died (probably murdered), just after the Dowager (possibly, indeed, before her), and there were good hopes of the Regency, which Yuan loyally served. But female and eunuch influences were too strong for him; the late Emperor's wife was apparently pledged to "get even," and accordingly off went Yuan, with a compulsorily sore leg, home to Ho Nan (1909). Anyone who has closely followed his career since he was hurriedly sent for in 1911 by his own Manchu persecutors will see how consistently straight he has been. He tried his best to save the dynasty and have a Constitution, as previously urged in 1907, not entirely because he loved or even respected the dynasty, but because he was "Old China" to the core, and had an honourable and "non-German" type of mind. He tried hard to persuade the Cantonese self-seeking gang that China was not yet fitted for a republic; moreover, he always behaved from first to last as a chivalrous gentleman to the new Dowager (his enemy), and secured the best possible terms for the Manchus (who, with all their official faults, are not bad fellows socially). He has his reward; we now actually see Manchu battalions marching from Peking and fighting for Yüan against Yün Nan! The one time prospective heir to the Manchu throne (P'ulun) calls himself "your subject," and *begs* him to become Emperor. Here

comes the crucial point. Yüan took the oath. Certainly he did, and meant it. So did Mr. Gladstone when he swore by the nine gods that the British would relinquish Egypt. But neither of the two was a Bethmann-Hollweg, and both honestly meant it. Yet, after four years of miserable Cantonese intriguing (and no Cantonese really cares for China as a whole; it is only the independence of the Kwang region they lust after), party squabbling, assassination, rebellion, etc., Yüan at last saw that (as temporarily, at least, everyone, foreign, native, friend, or enemy had said) he, personally, villain or saint, was really the only individual morally and physically capable of holding the fort; and, anyhow, China was manifestly not yet educated up to the point of self-government. Moreover, his military supporters saw it, and probably insisted upon his donning the yellow. The mercantile classes and the farmers were sick of unrest, and even if the official "wishes" were a "fake," there was manifestly no other way of taking action within reasonable time and without causing innumerable local squabbles. The sagacity and prudence of Yüan under these most recent conditions has been really extraordinary. Japanese action is a matter of "high diplomacy," of which the writer knows absolutely nothing, and, if he did, he would not say anything, for Japan has been a true ally to us, and nothing is further from the sagacious Japanese mind than a treachery, turncoating, and coarse brutality of the Hohenzollern-Prussian type. Besides, we must see that Japan does not suffer from German intrigue with Chinese armies. But, Japanese motives aside, Yüan's consummate deftness and prudence have been astounding, whether he has deliberately seized greatness or had it thrust upon him. Ever since January 10 the last four pages of the successive *Government Gazettes* have contained a *raisonnée* explanation of the whole business (about 4,000 Chinese characters, say 8,000 English words) in the shape of a proclamation clearly setting forth in sober, measured, and deliberate terms the why and wherefore of the whole business: (1) How the monarchy agitation began; (2) how impossible it had proved to change



the whole theory of China's social system to one of individual equality ; (3) how it was absolutely necessary to have a definite head of the State ; (4) how, throughout all dynastic changes, China's social and government system had remained the same ; (5) how, with an area of 40,000,000 *li* (4,000,000 square miles), and five organically different races (Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, Tibetan, and Turki), it was impossible to govern with a shifting head ; (6) how rebellion after rebellion had broken out ever since the Republic was accepted ; (7) how perpetual unrest was inspired by each pretender having his own ideas of a superior ; (8) how progress in all its branches had become impossible owing to uncertainty and want of fixity ; (9) how the discrediting of the monarchical idea, with its dynastic scimmages, is not owing to any inherent defect in monarchy, but owing to the lack of a constitution with that monarchy, the virtue of a constitution lying in the fact that a constitutional monarch stands apart from the racket, and acts as a mediator, so that, if we establish a monarchy, we may look forward to a thousand years of the benefits of monarchy free from the past defects of monarchy ; (10) how the essence of it is government by law, and not government by force. It is with these considerations in his mind (goes on the State paper to say) that "Mr. Yuan," feeling his competency, and the only person really available, is prepared to sacrifice himself, and his sons and grandsons after him (this is the first hint of an *hereditary* monarchy), to the constitutional idea, which His Majesty thus defines: (1) Progress, such as will satisfy all interests ; (2) entire absence of the "joy for one family regardless of the people's wish" idea of past dynasties ; (3) elimination of the abuses which have existed for four thousand years ; (4) united effort by Prince and people. If Heaven aid us, after, say, ten years of fair trial we may hope for success and safety.

It is to be feared that few foreigners have taken the trouble to read this admirable State paper, published officially by the "Preparation for Parliament Bureau." Its style is simple and dignified ; there is not a word of twaddle or

slavishness in it, and before condemning Yüan it is only fair that it be carefully read, marked, and digested by foreign Powers. Meanwhile, a thoroughgoing Budget for 1916, item by item, has been published, and foreign bankers might well take the trouble to study it. It shows \$471,946,710 receipts and \$471,519,436 expenditure, of which \$286,000,000 is "ordinary" and the rest "extraordinary." Divide these totals by ten, and you get the approximate sterling amounts.

\* \* \* \* \*

On February 23 a mandate is issued which considerably modifies the situation, and the cautious passive action of Yuan Shih-K'ai in leaving all initiative activity to "the people" thus enables him to make a desirable strategic movement without too much loss of face. He says in effect, "In view of the innumerable documents and telegrams received without intermission from the services, corporate bodies, and various prominent individuals urging that the Throne question may be settled without loss of time, it is easily understood that their patriotism has permanent peace and order in view: at the same time it is always right that those in power should act strictly according to the urgencies of the moment. Rebellion having broken out in Yün Nan and Kwei Chou, carrying with it disaffection in parts of Hu Nan and Sz Ch'wan, I am deeply grieved at the prospect of the suffering our people must face. Moreover, all sorts of malicious rumours are being circulated by the evilly disposed, in such wise that my original motive of saving the people and the State has been twisted into a pretext for a general contest for possession and power. Under these circumstances I cannot feel happy at the prospect of settling the Throne question off-hand, and have therefore definitely decided for postponement. I trust that all patriotic persons, governing or governed, will be able to appreciate this view; and meanwhile no further documents or telegrams urging the speedy settlement must be submitted to me."

## THE GREAT WORK OF TO-MORROW FOR WHICH WE MUST PREPARE OURSELVES TO-DAY

BY CAPTAIN S. W. PETAVEL, R.E., RETIRED

IN the midst of our life-and-death struggle we have little time to pay attention to anything but the vital issues of the moment; still, we must bear in mind that war may be followed by events even more disastrous if we do not start in time to prepare ourselves to meet the labour difficulties that are likely to arise at some time or other after the cessation of hostilities. We none of us know what will be the economic situation after the war. We shall, of course, have great arrears of manufacturing to make up, and enormous material damages to repair, all demanding labour; but we cannot say what will be the total result of such gigantic disturbances of the labour market as will occur; and as we cannot know, we should be guilty of criminal negligence if we left matters to chance. Apart from our duty to those who have fought for their country, every thoughtful person must realize that if the workers, seething already with discontent, are mocked again by the ironies of our social system, by seeing unemployment, poverty and privation come in the train of *peace*, their cup is likely to be filled and there is no saying into what rash adventures they may be led.

Social reformers are divided in their councils, but our hope lies in the fact that we can appeal to the soldiers to take their own problem in hand. Though, as far as we are able to foresee, there will be work enough for them at

first, a reaction will set in sooner or later and there will be hard times.

Now, many of the soldiers' best friends have long recognized that we should form "industrial reserves" in which all time-expired men would have the option of serving and in which they would be employed producing the main necessities of life for themselves. Their reserve pay would supply them with a small cash wage whilst they were still learners. The organization could also earn some money by supplying something to the Army or doing other work for the public. The men would be able first to learn a trade and then to work for a time to save money for a start. If their start proved a false one and they failed they would be able to return to a suitable trade for a fresh start. An organization engaged principally in producing the necessities of life for itself is not limited, as regards the amount of labour it can employ, as a commercial concern is which has to find purchasers for what it produces.

"Industrial reserves" open up many possibilities of increased military efficiency and of very great economies. The advantages have been well recognized by distinguished soldiers, including the late Lord Roberts, who gave his support to organizations advocating this plan in slightly different forms.\* At present, however, we are concerned with industrial reserves simply as the only way of putting an end once and for all to the scandal of discharged soldiers crowding the ranks of unskilled labour and often of the unemployed.

The question of the possibility of making "industrial reserves" entirely self-supporting is, fortunately, placed above all controversy. The Swiss have made a self-contained organization pay, though employing only tramps, vagrants and prisoners. There can be no question, therefore, as to whether we could do it with our discharged soldiers.

\* The Educational Colonies Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., and the Soldiers' Land Settlement Association.

Now, dealing with the problem as it presents itself to-day, it is, of course, evident that we could not get "industrial reserves" suddenly into full working order even by taking factories over and adapting them, as we have now learnt to do on an emergency. It would probably be a good deal more than a year before such reserves, so hastily formed, could produce foodstuffs for themselves to any appreciable extent. Possibly also, owing to the difficulty of obtaining enough land, they would not produce much of their own meat, or even wheat, until they had ranches and farms in Canada.

But this difficulty is merely theoretical, and vanishes when we look at things practically. In this war we have called upon young men to leave their vocational training to serve their country. So we must make arrangements to give an industrial training to all of them who ask for it. It would be nothing short of a fraudulent evasion of our duty to push them out on the industrial world during the trade boom that is likely to occur at first, and to leave them after that to do the best they can as unskilled workers.

Obviously the cheapest and, from every point of view, the best way to give them some industrial training is to supply them with raw materials --wheat to grind into flour and make into bread, live-stock to convert into meat, leather and woollen goods and other raw materials to work upon under the departments of the Army skilled in the work, so providing for their own needs. A few comparatively would do the industrial work for the whole, and the rest could be employed preparing land and buildings for the use of the military organization, so that by-and-by it would form a practically self-contained industrial unit. In the meanwhile there would be improvement values to be placed to the credit of the "industrial reserves." On a fair valuation of improvements they should be self-supporting, if not self-contained, from the very first.

Besides this duty which we can do only by means of industrial reserves there are others the war will leave us

which can be done infinitely better by their means than in any other way. By far the best thing to do with men who have been partly but not wholly disabled would be to employ them in a military organization of that kind where they would have the comradeship of their fellow-sufferers and the sympathetic regard of all. Finally, in "industrial reserves" we should be able to give sure employment under model conditions to widows and orphans.

Service in the "industrial reserves" could be made very attractive to many soldiers as it would be a continuation of regimental life, only with more freedom and with industrial employment predominating. Occasional military exercises, however, would be both beneficial and popular. Many would elect to remain soldiers on those terms, even if there were plenty of openings at first for employment outside, and a nucleus organization would be formed ready to be expanded to meet probable future emergencies.

Thus, to be prepared to do our duty to those who have fought for us in this great crisis and (most elementary duty of all), to be ready to meet an only too probable economic and social storm that may sweep away our homes if it finds us unready we need some people who will take the trouble to get to know and make generally known what has been accomplished abroad in the way of self-supporting and nearly self-supporting technical training, and who will make themselves acquainted with some of the most elementary facts of modern industrialism which will show them that the larger an organization producing necessities for its own workers is, the easier its task; because the better it can subdivide and organize its labour and especially the better use it can make of unskilled workers.

We shall need, in order to start our industrial reserve, people experienced in the particular methods, both in agriculture and in other production of necessities, that are employed where a very large proportion of the workers are unskilled, but it is quite clear how we could supply that need.

The Swiss, I repeat, have made even men under sentence for vagrancy self-supporting by employing them in this way, so that we could certainly obtain very excellent result with school-boys. Nothing could be more evidently useful at the present time than to give boys that work and training in improvised farm-schools which would be the foundation on which to build, later, the organization for soldiers. It would not matter if their lessons were largely sacrificed to the practical and to training, as they could be kept in this organization (their earnings increasing rapidly), until they had attained the required standard of education.

After making ourselves acquainted with the facts—the Associations already mentioned have been formed to supply information about them—we must make them known, not so much among social reformers who too often will merely suggest some other plan supposed to be better and leave matters there, but among soldiers, who will take a practical view and appeal to the nation to do something of the kind for them. That is the trump card we have in our hands, and everything depends on how we play it. Steps are being taken now to provide holdings for soldiers who, on their return, want to become agriculturists. Those, however, will be a small minority. We need also an industrial training organization and city of refuge for all. The fate of the Empire, we must remember, may depend as much on the way we disband our great armies as it did on the way in which we brought them together.

## “TAXATION IN INDIA”

By J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

MRS. BESANT is, I am sure, quite incapable of deliberately misleading anyone even about her *bête noire* the present Government of India under which she has lived so long, and, I hope, in comparative comfort ; but the effect of her speech in seconding a resolution at the meeting of the National Indian Congress held in Bombay last Christmas (as reported in the January number of the *Indian Review*) would be to create a belief about taxation in India for which there is really no foundation whatever in fact. She is right, no doubt, in saying that the margin for any increase of taxation in India was some time ago (and is still to some extent) comparatively narrow ; but, after all, this margin is more ample in these days than might at first sight appear. The surplus produce of India (actually exported) was valued at about £160,000,000 before the war (almost the full value of the gross produce of the country as estimated by the Dadobhai Naoroji some forty years ago), and surely this is a taxable margin of very considerable dimensions when we consider that the Government at present takes only about one-eighth of this surplus as Land Revenue, which of course includes the rent in all Ryotwari Districts. Even the late Mr. Digby, whose estimate of the produce of India probably surpassed all others in its wild exaggeration, came to the conclusion that about 60 out of the 240 mil-



lions of British India (a goodly proportion for any country) were fairly prosperous, and therefore, I suppose, fairly taxable. Speaking generally, they are the only people who can be said to be taxed at all, because the Land Revenue, which is paid by a great number, is more in the nature of a rent than a tax pure and simple.

But Mrs. Besant goes on to say (relying on the late Mr. Gokhale, and others, but again giving no reference), that “taxation of a country (*sic*) trenches on the subsistence of the labourer,” whereas, if there is one thing more certain than another in India it is that no mere labourer (coolie) as such pays any tax at all, except, perhaps, a few pence a year for salt, for which, however, he would have to pay at much the same rate even if it were not taxed at all. To say that India’s production amounts to 22s. a head and that taxation, local and Imperial, was 5s. 5d. a head in 1910 is as grossly misleading a statement as could well be made, especially as it is insinuated in the context that every coolie pays taxes at that rate, and that the agricultural population are in imminent risk of bankruptcy by *reason of that taxation*. As shown above, the tax on the land (which is practically all a purely agricultural person pays) amounts to about one-eighth of the surplus produce actually exported, and cannot be more than 5 per cent. of the gross produce.

Surely Mrs. Besant must know quite well that the indebtedness of the Indian peasantry is due to quite other causes than the Land Revenue, and would be scarcely affected at all if the land tax were remitted altogether; and yet she puts this indebtedness forward as a reason for changing the system of government, which she, with astonishing confidence, declares actually produces that indebtedness. As a matter of fact, the great bulk of the people in British India pay practically no taxes at all, and so far from India being the most heavily taxed country in the world, as she insists it is, “in proportion to the production of the masses of the people,” it is still probably the most lightly taxed of all civilized countries, considering

what the Government does for the people ; because the " masses " pay *nothing* (see " Truths About India," p. 100). She says further, " You must find out the produce of the labourer (coolie) and say how much ' of it you tax. ' " Well, however much the coolie (*quid* coolie) may produce, the fact remains that he pays no tax at all. I say this advisedly, because, as I said before, though he may have to contribute the salt tax he would have to pay nearly, if not quite, as much for his salt if it were not taxed at all ; and under the present monopoly system he at any rate gets good salt instead of bad. My objection has never been to the weight of the salt tax which is now negligible, but to the monopoly of a necessary of life and the consequent often cruel prosecutions for infringement of that monopoly.

Mrs. Besant has evidently not taken the trouble to read " Truths About India," especially the first, or she would not have spoken as she did on the subject of " The Drain."

Her remarks on famine and the poverty of India are true enough as far as they go, but they are not the whole truth. Much the same proportion of people in wealthy England suffer from want of sufficient food as in India in ordinary non-famine years, and perhaps suffer more on account of the cold.

What she says about the foreign trade of India five thousand years ago may be true : she does not give her authority ; but to speak of five thousand years of self-government in India is surely a joke -- unless she means that India has had self-government up to date without knowing it. No doubt the villages do still govern themselves to a certain extent, just as they do in Russia at the present time in spite of an autocratic Tsar ; but that is not what is generally meant by self-government in the Home Rule sense.

Lastly, if the test of the goodness of a Government is the wealth and prosperity of the people, we may well be encouraged to go on as we are now doing in India ; for

India is undoubtedly absorbing an ever-increasing proportion of the world's precious metals, and that is, I suppose, one great proof of wealth and prosperity (see "Truths About India," pp. 142, 167 *et passim*, and p. 59 of "More Truths About India"). It may be worth while to reproduce some striking figures from the last-quoted work for which the *British Californian* (not, I imagine, "a sun-dried bureaucrat") is primarily responsible :

"Truly, there is a 'drain out' of India, as there is a drain out of every country doing business with the world ; but there is also a 'drain in.' During the last seventy years India has absorbed 2,250,000,000 ounces of silver, or more than one-third of the world's supply during that period. In the last decade she absorbed 720,000,000 out of 1,820,000,000 ounces produced in the whole world. Now 720,000,000 out of 1,820,000,000 is nearly 40 per cent. Is this a proof of increasing poverty ? During the last seventy years India has absorbed more than a tenth of the whole world's production. Moreover, India's absorption of gold is rapidly increasing. In the last two years she has absorbed £35,000,000 worth more than one-sixth of the world's production for those two years."

## NIHON SEKIJU JI-SHIA, JAPAN'S RED CROSS ASSOCIATION

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY

THE Red Cross Association of Japan is presided over by a Prince of the Imperial Family. This society respects and conforms to all decisions of the International Convention of Geneva, which was originally started in Switzerland in 1864.

The headquarters of the Japan Red Cross Association, which were built in 1891, are at Shiba Park, Tokio. Branch offices have been established in many other parts of the Empire, also at Shanghai (China), in Formosa, the Liaotung Peninsula, and Mukden. In these centres the working members are trained in time of peace. Here they learn their respective duties—nursing patients, dressing wounds, preparing invalid food, and so forth. Here they attend lectures and receive courses of instruction, and are present when needed at practical demonstrations and surgical operations.

The Red Cross Society of Japan has a standing council, the names of which are submitted to His Imperial Majesty through the Ministers of the Army and the Navy. These councillors are honorary. There are also managers, or supervisors, president and vice-presidents. A local section is established in every *Fu* or *Ken*, in the Hokkaidō, or elsewhere within the Japanese dominion.

Each person joining this society, whether an active member or not, is entitled to receive and wear a badge or medal, according to the rank he or she takes in the society. There are life members who pay down a certain fee at one time. There are special members, ordinary members, foreign members. Each may display his various decorations, order of merit or medal, which has to be worn on the left breast. The orders of merit are of blue, red, and white enamel, on a silver ground, in the form of a Maltese cross. This is of a very simple but highly refined design. The medals of the honorary members are of silver gilt. The medals of the life members are of silver. All are provided and mounted with red and blue ribbon. The design is of Paulownias, bamboo, and phoenix, stamped with a small red cube cross. Rosettes and buttons of indigo and red silk ribbon accompany the medals. When the *Hakuaisha*, or original Society of Mercy and Benevolence, was organized, an embryo badge of a straight red line, with a small red dot above and below the line, was adopted by the active staff but when the Society of Mercy and Benevolence became affiliated and absorbed into the Red Cross Society, the symbol was changed, and the conventional Geneva Red Cross, on a white ground, is now proudly worn by all the Japanese doctors and nurses. This symbol, however, varies slightly from that worn by Europeans. The cross is represented with longer and thinner arms, which extend to the selvages of the white band, which is about five inches wide, space being allowed for the Government War Office stamp to be displayed as well, in black ideographs, upon the white armlet. This armlet is very effective on the dark blue uniform of the nurses' outdoor or dress attire, together with the many medals with which the selected unit displayed during their sojourn among us in England, for many of those who were chosen had been under fire on battlefields, or had rendered special service in some way or other.

The War Office of Japan alone trains army nurses. The

reserves, after the hospitals have been sufficiently supplied with able units, may take up other hospital work, or enter on private cases, in time of peace. But they are bound to remain under the entire control of the War Office, and for the term of fifteen years, to serve whenever required. All the staff must each have received at least three years' good training before being considered eligible for service. Added to these rules, each female nurse must have been through, and thoroughly completed the regular course of the Girls' High Schools in Japan.

When the numerous Red Cross hospitals throughout the country are not occupied (that is to say, housing the wounded soldiers and sailors), they are used as free hospitals for the poor, with the exception of those wards reserved for officers; but these are available on payment of a small fee for those who can afford the outlay. Beside numerous hospitals on land, there are two hospital ships belonging to the Red Cross Society. These, however, can be, and are generally, hired in time of peace as passenger steamers.

The Red Cross organization and work, it will therefore be seen, is good and extensive. But the foregoing information does not cover its extent: Besides the affiliation of the *Hakuaisha*, there is yet another auxiliary force at command, which is called the "Ladies' Association of Volunteer Nurses." This excellent association has placed its services, and is, under the control of the Red Cross Society, as far as completeness goes, though individual committees carry out the business. Its members are invited to join from all classes and provinces. They have to train for the term of two years, and when qualified they bind themselves to be ready for any emergency, to work among, and for, the wounded and disabled. All the work that the Red Cross Society and her sister societies have undertaken has been prompted, firstly, by strong intuitive traits of humanity, and secondly, by the deepest feelings of devotion and loyalty to the rulers of their beloved land.

So great is the desire to exalt their new-born empire in the eyes of mankind, that this humane corporate body ten years ago numbered 1,127,111 members, 369 surgeons, 171 dispensers, 2,874 female nurses, 1,544 male nurses, and 170 business officials\*. It is now calculated that one in every forty-five Japanese belongs to the Red Cross Society! These statistics speak of the grand unity of thought, work, and desire that animates the nation. With this statement before us it cannot justly be said ~~that~~ Japan is indifferent to the sufferings of humanity, or to the distress of her soldiers and sailors who are called upon from time to time to make great sacrifices, or to even lay down their lives for their Emperor, their brethren, and their country. The one strong test above all others that is raising this nation in the esteem of the world, is that oneness and concord that exists, and grows, and finds fruition on occasions of vital concern and national anxiety.

Of later years vast fields of discovery have been ploughed in the prosecution of medical and surgical science. The subject of sanitation, particularly for the troops, has been thoroughly dealt with, with good results, diminishing the fearful epidemics of the past. Small-pox, which ravaged villages to an enormous extent, since the adoption of vaccination has wonderfully decreased, and the name of Dr. Jenner has called forth the deepest reverence. I believe I am right in stating that a statue to the memory of this discoverer adorns Japan at the present day. When we remember the prohibition and strict rules that were placed on the importation of foreign books to Japan on many vital subjects, particularly Dutch literature on the study of medicine and medical treatment of the West, less than a century ago, we may indeed rejoice that the "Era of Enlightenment" came to Japan in our own day. Vaccination was first *attempted* in Japan by a physician named Otsuki in the year 1830.†

\* "Fifty Years of New Japan," vol. ii, p. 319. Compiled by Count Okuma, 1909.

† See Transactions Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. xli., part iii.

Foreign members who are in sympathy with this great organization in the Orient are sure to find a hearty welcome, and those who can join will strengthen the allied brotherhood and sisterhood between the West and Far East at this momentous crisis of the world's history. Universal work of this kind was never more needed than it is to-day, NOW.

The entrance of units of the Japanese Red Cross Association into Europe was so quietly and unobtrusively organized that for some time their presence among us was hardly known. This emphasizes the fact that many do not realize how much the Japanese are working for their allies, in other ways than by sending munitions to Russia; guarding our ships in far Asian waters; and protecting the Trans-Siberian Railway.

It was pleasant to watch the nurses of the Japanese Relief Corps in our British Red Cross Hospital at Netley, Southampton, England, ministering to the wants of the wounded. They were, indeed, a band of brave, lovable, womanly women. They always showed a happy and smiling countenance. Their touch was marvellous—so light, so true, so eminently gentle—a touch that can be compared to the flutter of some light material stirred by a summer breeze, or the hovering of a butterfly over the grass. Yet there is wonderful strength in their well-trained fingers—that curious, subtle tension that lies latent in the hand of the Oriental. Their digits are long and pliant, ever holding in restraint an almost metallic power. There was not one sad face among the unit except a little maiden, who, taking me into her confidence, said as she clasped my hand: "I like England, and I like you all, but I do not like your language. It is so different to our own, and oh! so difficult to learn."

The uniform of this community differs somewhat from that worn by our own nurses when on duty. It is principally white, with a curious crown-shaped headgear which is decidedly becoming to the wearer.



On one occasion, when we had the pleasure of entertaining a contingent at our home in the New Forest, they alighted from the motors like a bevy of birds, and fluttered over the sunny slopes of our hillside grounds like swallows, in their dark blue and white dress uniforms. Kodak in hand, each eagerly sought to secure a sun-shadow of an afternoon which evidently gave the guests much pleasure, for they were anxious to take back many records of that day to their far, far land. The brief friendship was productive of much happiness on either side, and has left a memory that will never fade.

The staff that composed the Japanese Red Cross Relief Corps, stationed at the British Red Cross Hospital, Netley, was drawn from various centres. Some of the nurses were from the main hospital at Tokio. Their names were: Miss Yamamoto, Miss Hisayasu, Miss Miyahara, Miss Kotaki, Miss Amano, Miss Matsuda, Miss Oshikiri, and Miss Kanyō and others. The rest were recruited from different centres - namely, Miss Iwata, (Shizuoka); Miss Hosoya (Shanghai, China); Miss Katsuda (Takamatsu); Mrs. Murata (Fukushima); Miss Nishiyama (Miyō); Mrs. Hirose (Miyazaki); Miss Kasai (Yamanashi); Miss Ono (Oida); Mrs. Kondo (Yehime); Miss Kasama (Fukushima); Miss Ogasawara (Aichi); and Miss Osaka from Akita. All of these graduated at the training school of the Japanese Red Cross Society. When recruited for active service for Europe, they were discharging their respective duties either at the main hospital or at those places where branch hospitals exist. Many are decorated with medals for services rendered since the outbreak of hostilities since 1894 between China and Japan, Russia and Japan (1905) and during the Boxer Rebellion. They were all highly qualified for the favour of selection bestowed upon them. Beyond the nurses mentioned, the unit was controlled by a matron and a head-nurse. The matron, Miss Yamamoto, had served through the three above-mentioned campaigns, and had received the seventh grade order of merit, also a medal from the French Government. Miss Kiyo-oki, the second head-nurse, had also received the same order of merit.

Dr. Suzuki, under whose charge the unit was placed, had received many decorations - among others "The Order of the Rising Sun," "The Order of the Golden Kite," etc. These were for recognition of his former services as surgeon and surgeon-inspector, as well as for other valuable services to his Government. Surgeon D. Tsuneyoshi Oshima had graduated from the Imperial University, Kyoto, and had completed his curriculum in Germany.

The interpreter, Mr. Naotaro Otsuka, had received his education from private as well as public schools, not only in Japan, but in the United States of America, and especially in Chicago. He had studied in mission schools and had taught in the theological seminary of the Church of Christ

until his appointment as interpreter on November 28, 1914, to accompany the Japanese Red Cross Relief Corps to England. He could both speak and write English well.

Mr. M. Kuwabara, the secretary and treasurer, graduated at the School of Foreign Languages. He became a master in the High Schools, and finally received his appointment to the Relief Corps sent to this country.

We have lost our staff of happy nurses. On December 15, 1915, T.M.'s King George and Queen Mary were pleased to give them an audience. On January 22, 1916, much to the regret of those who made their acquaintance, and still more deeply missed by all with whom they were associated either as fellow-workers, patients, or inmates of the well-organized wards of the British Red Cross Hospital, the farewell to this bright band of Orientals was touching in the extreme.

Although the symbol of the Red Cross has not been universally adopted as a religious emblem—save for the innate reverence it inspires—it denotes that Christian virtues of mercy and love have been recognized and displayed instinctively by reason of its sign manual. Nevertheless Christians are numbered in this community. Dr. Suzuki, giving an address during his sojourn in England, wound up his remarks with these significant words: "We hitch on our waggon to the Star of Bethlehem, and we will follow you in the work of humanity in the name of the Prince of Peace!"

[I am indebted to some of the members of this Japanese Red Cross Relief Corps for the principal information contained in this monograph, especially to Dr. Suzuki and Mr. N. Otsuka, interpreter, who placed both printed rules and manuscripts at my service, with the kindly courtesy invariably afforded to me by the Japanese.—C. M. S.]

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

### A FORGOTTEN PAGE OF INDIAN HISTORY

BY SIR FREDERIC S. P. LELY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

It may be said that most of the papers read in these rooms contain criticism of the present or aspiration for the future. I wish to lay before you a reminiscence which, too, may have its lessons.

It concerns one of the many Native States of India, which under their own Chiefs, and with the supervision and support of the British Government, may be fairly described, most of them, as "happy families." In this case the Raja possessed powers of life and death over his own subjects, and was entitled to a salute of eleven guns. He passed away many years ago, together with all his generation, and therefore I may speak of him more freely than otherwise I could or would. As a man he was not without virtues, but as an absolute ruler he was open to much criticism. Some years before my story begins, his eldest son, whom he had left in charge of affairs during his prolonged absence on a pilgrimage, fell under the influence of an evil associate, who encouraged him in the habit of drinking to such excess as to bring about his death. The father on his return, in his anger and grief, without judge or jury, caused the nose and ears of the man who had thus ruined his son to be cut off, in consequence of which the wretched fellow threw himself out of the window and killed himself. Upon this the Government of India deprived the Raja of his powers of

life and death, and, what perhaps grieved him more, of his salute of guns. Both he and a number of sympathizers always maintained that he had shown much lenity in only ordering the man to be mutilated, and that the action of the paramount power was too severe. Anyhow, the indiscretion was never repeated, and he might have lived out his life in peace but for his overpowering desire, in his later years, to save money. He would pay neither the salaries of his officials nor the bills of his tradesmen. It is only fair to say that the former did not suffer much thereby, for the nominal pay of a policeman was only 2½ rupees per month, of a police officer only 5 rupees, and so on in like proportion. They had to look elsewhere—*i.e.*, to the pockets of the people—for their daily expenses, and for making up the money they had paid for their places.

Every year the political officer representing the British Government would come round and trouble the waters with new-fangled advice, as, for example, to provide roads and schools, or at least to establish some sort of municipal administration in the capital town, for cleaning and lighting the streets. On one of these occasions His Highness was moved to do something. He set up lamp-posts on the chief roads, and imposed a house-tax to pay for them. After the British officer's departure they were returned into store for use on his next visit. The only permanent "reform" was the house-tax, which was paid into the Raja's treasury. The next annual tour occurred after a season of short rainfall, and disclosed much distress and destitution among the peasantry. "Would not His Highness follow the lead of all humane Governments, and adopt measures of relief?" Again His Highness listened with all politeness. It was a visitation of God, this coming of the political officer, as well as the drought, which could not be evaded, and must be temporized with for another year, at the least possible expense. A famine policy the State should have, combining the methods of East and West, and orders were sent round to the local shopkeepers to feed needy

people as specified in appended lists, but nothing was said or done about payment of the bills. A Forest Department, to re-cover the denuded hills, had a similar genesis, but its one achievement was a schedule of charges for cutting every tree. At last came signs of overt trouble. A village in the south was sacked in August, 1885, and another within sight of the capital was sacked in March, 1886, the raiders in both cases getting clear with their booty, without any effective attempt to hunt them down. A local tribe who had their own differences with the Raja about the tenure of their land, and had for years refused to pay taxes, were on the brink of revolt, and, being good fighters, had everything at their mercy. The Muhammadans were getting restless over the refusal of the Raja to let them add minarets to their mosque. These and other elements of danger forced the paramount power, responsible in the last resort for the good government of India, to intervene, and in April, 1886, they temporarily deposed the Raja, and sent one of their own officers to establish a new order in the State. His instructions were to keep steadily in view the fact that the young heir of the Raja was to succeed him on his death; to make no change unnecessarily; and to preserve intact the just rights and powers of the ruling house.

I hope I have not created too grave a prejudice against the old gentleman by telling of his differences with his son's evil friend. His action was wrong, even brutal, but of what might any of us be capable after thirty years of absolute power over our fellows in a back garden of the Empire, unchecked by contact with the outer world? Who can say? He himself was not without friends, especially among those of his neighbours who were not his subjects. Was he not part of the system of things? He was by destiny a Raja; and though his ways were very inconvenient to some, they were not essentially more so than those of Providence in sending pestilence or famine. Individually there was much in him to attract. He had

always been a clean liver. There had been no domestic scandals in his time, of the kind only too frequent in some of the petty courts. Though he grudged the workman his hire, he never stinted in what the world he lived in regarded as the main duties of religion. No pilgrim on his way to a holy shrine ever passed his doors without a welcome and food. His accounts showed an average of 450 free meals per day to these people. Three thousand rupees per annum was spent by him on that most meritorious of actions : feeding ownerless dogs. Every morning at his usual hour he might be seen, dressed in simple white and the turban of the Grassias - surely the most graceful headgear in the world - wending his way on his pony to the family temple outside the walls. At home he was open to callers in his reception-room, unadorned and unfurnished except for a drugget and a chair for anyone whose position entitled him to the honour, and who was sufficiently modern to prefer one to a more natural seat on the floor. To this was added the courtesy of a seigneur, the capacity to make and enjoy a joke, and suffused over it all a genial tolerance. As he never blamed himself for his misfortunes, so he never blamed anyone else. We were all the puppets of Destiny, and why vex oneself to resist or even protest ? It was no credit to the British officer that from first to last the two were good friends.

It took longer to arrive at an understanding with the people. Notwithstanding their grievances, they did not welcome the new Administrator with open arms. They saw the régime to which they had been accustomed all their lives suddenly broken down. They saw the Raja, whom at any rate they knew, replaced by a stranger of whom they knew nothing. Their feeling was naturally not of relief, but rather of bewilderment. They wondered what was going to happen next. Fortunately, several incidents happened in those early days which greatly helped to create confidence. I will mention only two. The first

was held to be convincing proof of what carries great weight with the masses of India—that the Administrator was lucky. One of his first activities was digging wells—wells for plantations of cocoanut and other trees, wells on the roadsides for the use of travellers. From the earliest history this has been held in India to be the duty of a ruler, but it is not free from risk. Water may not be struck at a convenient depth, or it may be scanty, or the quality may be bad. It happened at this time that in every single well that was dug there was found a plentiful supply of sweet water within fifty feet of the surface. It was clear to the popular mind that so far, at any rate, the Administrator enjoyed the favour of the gods. In the second instance he scored a point which was still more undeserved. The chief means of reaching the metropolitan city of Bombay was a coasting steamer which called twice a week. One evening a number of passengers waited as usual on the quay ready to go on board, but to their disappointment she whistled and went on without stopping. The reason doubtless was that she was already overloaded. She was never seen again, being capsized in a storm that night, and carrying to the bottom 1,100 passengers, including many young men who were on their way to Bombay for University examination. The report went abroad that the Administrator, foreseeing the storm, had forbidden her to call, and so had saved the lives of the whole local contingent. How the story arose I do not know, for there was not a word of truth in it.

The Raja's passion for saving had one result which was very convenient. There was a large cash reserve in the Treasury cellars: bars of gold, ingots of silver, dollars of many countries, embedded in mounds of koris—*i.e.*, the local coinage, minted under the eye of His Highness himself, and therefore, you may be sure, containing no more silver than was necessary to save appearances. Many of them had lain so long that the original bags had rotted, and the tiny lumps of metal lay

like heaps of wheat in a granary, to be shortly transmuted—after paying outstanding claims—into roads, bridges, public buildings, and a railway. Nor was the hoard only in cash. The land revenue was paid largely in kind, the State share of grain and cotton being sold directly from the threshing-floor to merchants, if prices were satisfactory. If not, the villagers were made to cart it (without pay) into the capital, where it was stored in any private house that happened to be empty, on the understanding that, when (if ever) it was sold, the buyer was to pay the rent for the period of occupation at the reduced rate of ten annas per rupee. No less than seventy-six buildings were found filled with grain in every stage of decomposition. Some of the lower strata had lain for so long as to become a solid conglomerate. The only course was to sell the small part that was wholesome, to burn the rest, and to restore the house to its owner, paying him the full arrears of rent. The rumour went through the country that the stuff had been thrown into the sea and had set up a disease among the fishes.

By its ancient custom the State took its share of the produce of the land by actually dividing it in the field, or on the threshing floor, and carrying it away. This was done in one of two ways. According to one method (called “Dhal”), the standing crop was inspected and valued by a committee. The amount of the estimated outturn being thus settled, the cultivator was held responsible for delivering the quantity which was due to the State. For instance, if a crop of grain were assessed at 100 bushels, and the share of the State were one-fifth, he would have to pay twenty bushels to the official. Under the other system (“Mankhal”), the crops were cut, carried, and threshed, and then measured out. By “Dhal” the State was protected against loss by extensive pilfering of the crop while it was still in the field, but on the other hand were two grave objections. One was the vitiation of the committee’s estimate by bias or bad judgment. The other was that the cultivator was



enabled to palm off in the State quota the refuse of the crop. The unjust steward was not only able to say, "Take thy bill, and instead of a hundred measures of wheat write down eighty," but also, "Put into your eighty measures your inferior and damaged grain, and I will pass it." So well was this understood that the price obtained from dealers in the auction of the State share in a "Dhal" village was much below the bids in a "Mankhal" village. For these reasons the "Mankhal" system was generally adopted, under which the whole is brought to the threshing-floor and divided.

Near every village is the threshing-floor—an enclosure surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, and here is a busy time at harvest. Cart after cart rolls in and unloads each cultivator's crop on the section of ground allotted to him. A little later patient bullocks are circling round and round, treading out the corn. Mounted on high three-legged stools men winnow out the chaff by shaking it in the wind from wicker trays. After all is done, we see the floor of beaten mud well swept and covered with conical heaps of grain and cotton, like a collection of magnified molehills, waiting till it be the pleasure of the State official to attend to make the division.

In every man's section stands the cot on which he sleeps, keeping watch and ward, by night and day, over the fruit of his year's toil, just as Boaz did 3,000 years ago. Perhaps the only important detail added in the lapse of time is the tall hookah standing by, ready for an occasional whiff. Early one morning, at last the great man arrives. He is accompanied by his own orderlies, by the village headman, who is supposed to look after the interests of the cultivators, and by a swarm of underlings, ready to give a hand to help, but chiefly intent on the "handfuls" or "lapfuls" which they are severally able to get. In no two villages is the practice precisely the same, but over all presides unwritten custom, a force which in this atmosphere is the subject's panacea. We will suppose the

crop to have been grown by natural rainfall (a "sky-crop"); if raised by irrigation, involving more capital and labour, the cultivator of course gets a larger share. First of all, the piety of the Raja may have secured to some favoured temple an assignment of, say, 2 per cent. of the whole outturn. Then a heap is set aside for miscellaneous charges, firstly for village expenses, such as the entertainment of State officials and other guests, the ministry of local gods, and so on. Secondly comes the turn of the village servants—the carpenter, the potter, the scavenger, the watchman, and others, each getting a "handful," the size of which is more or less according to the humour of the headman. Lastly follows a number of small perquisites—for the Raja's cook, his mace-bearer, his tom-tom players, his touring expenses, his son's pocket-money, his temple at Benares. They were never all taken in the same village, and depended in practice on the endurance of the cultivator. Sometimes a special "benevolence" would be exacted for, say, a marriage in the Raja's family or other expensive event. This was called in popular talk "a jump" or "a slap in the face." After all such minor claims had been disposed of, the remainder of the crop would be divided into three equal heaps, of which the State took one and the cultivator two. In addition, a money tax was taken, usually on every pair of oxen. The rate varied according to caste, the standard being reduced to half or three-quarters for a Brahmin and multiplied by two or three for the least favoured.

Under the British Government and in some of the more advanced Native States, the crop share is replaced by a fixed cash rental. Even in British territory, there are some writers who look back with regret on the "good old days," when the landlord and cultivator shared with each other the kindly fruits of the earth, when they suffered together if the harvest was bad, and rejoiced together if it was good, without the intervention of cash accounts and dates of payment. On the other hand, the levy of a

uniform share of the gross produce falls very unevenly on poor land as compared with good land. Five bushels out of a crop of twenty may be supportable, because it still leaves fifteen for the cultivator; but one and a quarter out of five leaves only three and three-quarters, which may be less than a bare living. Under the cash system the demand runs down to twopence an acre, and for land under reclamation to nothing at all. Again, it is argued, if the State share of grain is levied in kind and part of it stored in granaries, it will form a reserve against times of famine. The suggestion is plausible, but will not bear examination. Theoretically it is bad finance to hoard up the surplus revenue of the year as so much dead weight instead of investing it in reproductive and preventive works. Practically it is impossible for a State department to keep large quantities (and the quantities must be large to be of use in a famine) free from rats, weevil, and the damp of the rainy season. That can only be done by the personal care of private dealers holding moderate stocks. There is no doubt that the collection of a fixed cash rent with frigid punctuality and exactness jars with the easy-going nature of the people, and would partly account for the sense of aloofness and hardness of the British Government of which Indians are conscious. The wise policy of Lord Curzon has much eased the tension by providing for automatic suspension and remission in times of scarcity. For instance, I have recently heard from Gujerat that, the crop in some parts this year being only 50 per cent. of an average, the demand has been at once reduced in that proportion.

Practical inquiry into the crop-sharing system showed it to be intolerable under lax supervision to any but the most docile of people. It has already been seen how the palace servants swarmed out at harvest, and it was nothing unusual to see one of them returning to the capital with a cartload of plunder. It was in the power of the higher official to keep the crop lying on the

ground and spoiling until it suited his pleasure to attend. This was specially injurious to cotton, of which there were three separate pickings in the season, but never more than one division. Consequently it was often too late for export before the rains began, and always discoloured, and so depreciated in value. It may be mentioned, by the way, that in two villages where there had been a dispute over an extra cess the cultivation of cotton had been forbidden altogether for the past seven or eight years.

On the whole, the right conclusion seemed to be that the crop-sharing system is impossible in a large territory without an army of inspectors and incessant strain to prevent slackness and peculation, but that in a small State, which could easily be brought under personal supervision, there was no pressing need for changing the ancient custom. If the modern spirit should some day demand it, it would be better left to the Raja when he again came into his own. Meantime the old officials and the people, village by village, were called into council. The shares and all reasonable perquisites on the threshing-floor were defined and recorded, all other "handfuls" and "lapfuls" being made illegal. Carting into the capital, when required for the Raja, was to be paid for at fair rates. A simple form of accounts was introduced. All the produce not wanted for the Raja's use was to be sold by auction straight from the village. Above all, the officials superintending the division of the crops were strictly bound to make their tours promptly to time, and to report the dates to headquarters. Subject to these precautions, the collection of the land revenue was left in its old groove.

In some cases the old system was perforce abandoned. Sugar-cane was cut and brought in bundles to the mill, where it was crushed, and the juice boiled and drawn off into pots before it was ready for measurement. This involved long and vexatious supervision, besides frequent disputes about quality, and therefore it was arranged to

whole crop was first of all taken as land rent, and the cultivator's half was seldom set free by the officials until the export season was nearly at an end. The village gin paid  $2\frac{1}{2}$  koris per annum. The collector of land customs charged 3 koris per bale for home-grown staple, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  if grown elsewhere. Arrived at the port, it was taxed on being pressed, on being stamped, on being warehoused during the rains, and finally the export duty was 10 koris. In the villages of two divisions (Mahals), a payment of 2 koris per bale was levied in the name of a deceased wife or daughter—I forget which—of the Raja's. To perpetuate the name of a departed worthy by a tax was at any rate original. To most of us it would seem a less happy memorial than even a London statue.

Such a system chafed the people less than we should expect; for it was at least human and homely, and their standard of life was very low, their civic sense stagnant or non-existent. Many harpies, as we have seen, swarmed on the cultivator; but, on the other hand, he had the chance of protecting himself by thieving, or bribery, or courting official favour, or, if all else failed, by passive resistance. This was more congenial to their temperament than the rigid and punctual enforcement by the British Government of a lighter demand. The Raja's right to forced labour was not accompanied by the groans and hard taskmasters which the phrase suggests. If the roof of a State building needed repair, the Superintendent of Police requisitioned the head of the potter caste for tiles, and the head of the carpenters or the sailors, as the case might be, for a daily relay of workmen. In the evening they would all adjourn to the State granary, where a day's ration per man would be served out all round. That would go on day after day, sometimes for months at a time, since it was to no one's particular interest to finish the work or to see that it was done. Men would take their turn, according to the roster of their caste, to go on the job, and they were fed—what else mattered?

Thus there was an old-world atmosphere which the

British districts, even of India, have partly grown out of. There was no competition, no hustling, no aspiration to higher things, no desire even to handle money, only a dull acceptance of custom, which alone they were concerned to defend. The town scavengers were content to be treated as the refuse of humanity, and to live on garbage, and not too much of that. They took an allowance of reasonable pay under the new régime without response of any kind, but when a new inspector somewhat hastily introduced long-handled brooms instead of their short-handled brushes for sweeping up, they rose in general strike. Their forefathers had always done the work squatting on their haunches, and nothing should induce them to do it standing up! Many of the lowest classes, who on account of their poverty were now exempted from the occupation tax, were not quite easy in their minds about it, for such a thing had never been done before, and they feared it might injure their status as subjects. Yet the little State had been brought to the extreme point of economic exhaustion. Three years of insufficient rainfall had been superadded, and it is hard to see how the large importation of necessities of life would have been paid for without the money now distributed in public works, and the lightening of public burden. The occupation tax, which had hitherto ranged from a month's wages, in case of the poorest, to total exemption of the influential merchant, was now readjusted according to income. Levies in kind, except the crop share, were all abolished. So also were the inland customs on goods leaving every village. Cotton was freed except from the export duty. Sales and mortgages were subjected only to a moderate stamp. The tax on marriages was retained. The ancient right of the Raja to demand personal service was preserved intact, but always with the condition of payment at current rates.

The secular conflict between the nomad grazier and the settled cultivator was very acute. Any wandering herd was allowed to roam where it chose after payment of

the Raja's fee, and bitter were the complaints of the people, who were powerless to defend their unfenced fields from invasions of these horned cattle and their sturdy owners. In more than one village four-fifths of the land had not been cultivated for years, owing, it was said, chiefly to the fear of these chartered trespassers, who were now taken in hand. The denuded face of the hills was enclosed for forest. In the hilly ground behind, unsuited for the plough, ten pasture villages were demarcated, every one with a large area reserved for common hay and grazing. All licensed residents were allowed to cut the grass on a portion of the area and store for use in the hot weather, and after a certain date to turn in their cattle to graze over the whole. Access to the agricultural plain below for purpose of grazing was forbidden.

The police force was reorganized on the basis of regular and sufficient pay, proper equipment, discipline, and promotion by merit, most of the old men being retained under a new Superintendent of character. The posts of Chief Judge and of Magistrates were filled by Indians who had been trained under the British Government. In the gaol under the old régime the prisoners were given nothing to do, and on the other hand no food. For that they had to look to relatives outside or to public charity. They were now put to work in the State gardens and properly fed. Arrears of public accounts, some of them reaching back for thirty years, were cleared off. Private persons were encouraged by liberal terms to dig wells and plant fruit-trees. Schools were started wherever the people agreed to provide a room. The whole State was surveyed and mapped, as also the marine roadstead.

Public offices were built at central places. Existing buildings were patched up as far as possible for hospitals and schools until more money should be forthcoming. The state of the roads may be inferred from the fact that only three spring vehicles were owned by private people, and they were drawn by bullocks. Two trunk roads were put in

hand, and at the northern approach to the capital a dangerous ford was replaced by a handsome bridge, or rather two bridges. A railway sixty miles long was constructed to connect the State with the continental system. A few results in the third year may be briefly noted. All serious crime against property had disappeared. The prisoners in the gaol fell from 114 to 35. The price of building land in the capital rose ninefold. The revenue of the State, despite the greatly reduced taxation, rose threefold.

How did these changes affect the people? At first their equilibrium was rather upset. No longer compelled to supply the State officials with food for nothing, they demurred sometimes to doing so on payment. Men whose houses had formerly been commandeered combined to refuse them on a fair rent to a police officer on the ground that he was a Christian, and to a railway officer on the ground that he was a Parsi. Some shopkeepers refused to supply materials for public works unless they were paid in advance. Such actions had little real meaning; they were only the antics of a people who very suddenly found themselves free. Like the women in the Panch Mahals who wear metal rings up to their knees, which at the husband's funeral pyre have to be taken off. A litter has to be provided to carry the lady home, for her legs, relieved all at once of the weight, fly up wildly until they get used to the new condition. As time went on there was reason to hope that the new spirit was taking root among the people. In the third year the Muhammadans who traded in the Persian Gulf, and were the only moneyed community in the State, came to the Administrator, and in effect they said: "Sir, we see a quickening all around us, and we want to share in it. We recognize that our children are not being educated so as to take their part in the modern world. We offer 10,000 rupees towards the cost of building a school, and we wish it to be managed by the State." It was a welcome sign with many others of an impulse set going outside the official circle—a desire for something



higher than daily rations — without which roads and railways, and even honest officials imposed by a foreign hand, would be a mere excrescence.

A word about caste. It is an integral part of the old system of native government, and the relations with it of a native chief are interesting. The British Government for obvious reasons ignore it, and thereby add a foreign flavour to their rule. In pre-British days the occupation taxes were imposed by the State in a lump on the caste, and distributed upon every individual by the leaders. Sir A. Lyall notes that the powers of readmitting into caste are held and used by some Rajas as a source of revenue, and to this day the authority of the chief is generally sought and given to exact a fine for such and such a breach of caste rules. Here the lower castes considered that the State under the new régime was abdicating its functions by standing aloof. Generally speaking, the Raja's practice had been to nominate the headman, who paid him a fee and held office until another offer of money was made by someone else. A quarter of every fine levied by the caste, and the penalty on all divorces, were also payable to the State. It was decided, on consideration, in the main to continue all this.

In course of time the Raja passed away, and power was restored to his heir, his grandson. The Native States of India are in the art of government what "small holdings" are in agriculture. Most of them are in point of size estates rather than territories, in which the chief, with his immediate agents, can supervise all that is going on, and act on the basis of personal knowledge. The British Government have large dominions extending far beyond the eyesight of any single man, and consequently have to guard against injustice and mistakes by elaborate machinery which is always rigid, and sometimes appears unhuman. The Western jurisconsult hails the transition from personal rule to law as an advance, but it is not at all certain that the primitive Indian accepts this view. The government

which exempts the Brahmin from taxation, and excludes the out-caste from civil rights, and freely exercises the "dispensing power" in hard cases, and generally "goes easy," is more congenial to him than cold impersonal rule, however just. I refer to the uneducated and half-educated masses. His indignation is not so much aroused by privilege or monopoly or arbitrary power, as by breach of custom, the chief political crime of which, to his mind, a ruler can be guilty. The placid contentment of the Native State is based upon personal loyalty to the chief, who is generally, though not always, of a long line, and who at least understands his people. Though despotic in name, he is sensitive to public opinion, or, rather, to any section of it influential enough to exercise pressure. I remember one of the most powerful of them taking precautions to conceal the killing of sheep for his own table, as it was forbidden during the annual holy season of the Jains. He was not a follower of the Jain creed himself, but he wished not to offend an important section of his subjects. The Englishman is neither more nor less determined to get his mutton, but acts openly, and so turns every Jain against him. The Raja, of course, failed to keep his secret; but the attempt was held to show respect for popular feeling, while the other shows disregard for it. It is open to argument which is the wiser, but there can be no question of the differing effect on the public mind, which sees nothing undignified in the conduct of the Raja. When all is said and done, the position of an Indian chief, secured as he is from enemies without and within, surrounded by a docile people upon whom he is free to impress his will, is to a humane and thoughtful man, as many of them are, as enviable as any in the world.

I may in closing mention one more episode, for it seems necessary to round off the story. After three years the time came for the Administrator to leave for other work. The hour of his departure became known, and the roads and fields were covered as far as the eyes

could reach. The whole countryside had come out to wish God-speed to the stranger who for three years had gone in and out among them, and, without any pretence to special ability, had done his best to give them a new life. Recognizing this, they forgot his mistakes, as is ever the way with the kindly and generous men and women of India.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, February 21, 1916, at which a paper entitled "A Forgotten Page in Indian History," by Sir F. S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., was read. In the absence of the Chairman (Sir John Jardine, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.P.), the chair was taken by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Muir-Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Lady Lely, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Stormont Murphy, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. Gandell, Miss Gearon, Mr. and Mrs. Coghlan, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Bhola Nath, Mrs. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Mr. and Mrs. James Macdonald, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Irvine, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. C. E. Maurice, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. and Mrs. Milson, the Rev. D. G. Clarke, Miss Wade, Mrs. Jardine, Mr. C. R. Dubash, Mrs. Lely, Mr. K. Bhandari, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Mrs. Simpson, Mr. M. W. Hassanally, Miss Burton, Dr. and Mrs. Davidson, Mr. and Mrs. Harriott, Mr. and Miss Hallward, Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Sponagle, Miss Rosanna Powell, Mr. and Mrs. Frank de Monte, Miss Every, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Slater, Mrs. Grierson, Mrs. McCorkell, Mrs. and Miss Candy, Mrs. Drury, Miss Swainson, Mrs. Cowburn, Miss Rising, Mrs. White, Mrs. Clark-Kennedy, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. T. P. Guiry, Colonel Woolf, Mr. G. B. Reid, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. D. Nicholson, Mr. H. Wyatt, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. R. Jardine, Mrs. Davis, Mr. Robert Stephenson, Mrs. Sorabji, Mrs. H. B. Grigg, Mrs. Brecks, Mr. Sampuram Singh, Mrs. Collis, Dr. Berry, Mrs. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. C. Bunbury, Mr. G. Mansukhani, Mr. Eric Hope, Mr. W. Hawkins, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Miss Phillips, Mr. H. M. Bux, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Edmund Russell, Mr. Davidson Keith, Mrs. Jacob, Mrs. Prior, Colonel and Mrs. Burnside, Mr. H. Phipson, Mr. Lutus, Mr. W. Frank, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The HON. SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, I regret to say that I have just received this letter from our Chairman, Sir John Jardine, in which he writes: "I am sorry to say that a cold I had has become so bad to-day

that I am advised I must keep within doors and avoid trains. So I have to ask you to get a substitute for me as Chairman at the meeting of to-morrow. It is a great disappointment to me not to be there. A paper by a man of Sir S. P. Lely's great experience and knowledge of the people of India is sure to be followed by a good discussion and I was anxious to take some part, as I have had a good deal to do with Native States in Kathiawad and elsewhere. I hope my forced absence may not put you or the Association to any serious inconvenience.—(Signed) JOHN JARDINE "

Under these circumstances we shall not have the pleasure of seeing Sir John here this evening, but Sir Arundel T. Arundel has kindly consented to take the chair in his place.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I regret the necessity of having to take the chair owing to the absence of our hoped-for Chairman, Sir John Jardine, through ill-health. I have, however, the pleasant duty of introducing to the meeting my old friend Sir Frederick Lely, whom I first of all met in the Viceroy's Legislative Council a good many years ago. Sir Frederick rendered very notable and valuable services in Bombay, especially in the famine, and he closed his career while holding the high office of Chief Commissioner in the Central Provinces. I will now ask him to read the paper he has been so good as to give to this Association.

The SECRETARY: Before the lecturer begins I should like to read to the meeting a letter I have received from Sir George Birdwood, who hoped to be with us this afternoon. This is what he says: "Lely's paper—evidently autobiographical—is a gem—'of purest ray serene'—perfect to my heart's delight: and I am strongly moved to come up to hear it read: if only to bow to him and be refreshed by seeing Jardine and you again in mine own mortal body! There is only little of it left—on Thursday it was blown before wind here like a withered leaf—and I was only saved from a grievous fall by two dear old ladies rushing out of a shop and dragging me back into it! But to go back to Lely—if I don't appear by 4.30, at once post three copies of the paper to me for me to send to three very great and influential men—to all of whom I hope it will prove a valuable vade-mecum. It enforces my golden rule in regard to all proposals to revolutionize the traditional institutions of India. Why in the name of God can't you let them alone? Will the moral of the Edenic Tree of Knowledge never be learned in Europe? See what Western civilization has brought us to! Science is simply Satan's self.—(Signed) GEORGE BIRDWOOD."

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I almost wish that the Secretary had not read that letter from Sir George Birdwood, as I am afraid my paper will not come up to his expectations. However, I must do my best.

The paper was then read, being received with much applause at its conclusion.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are all very much indebted to the lecturer for his most interesting paper; it was, if I may say so, like a series of cinema films in which we have been introduced to all the details of village life in a Native State a generation ago. We could

almost see the daily life of these villagers as depicted in such close and sympathetic detail. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the old Raja himself, we can hardly restrain a lurking liking for him in spite of his misdeeds. I think that his idea of entirely concurring with the Political Officer that something must be done in the way of putting up lamp-posts for the benefit of the inhabitants, using them during an official visitation and then putting them away to be kept safely till the arrival of the next official visitor, showed a quiet sense of humour. The only permanent thing that remained for the inhabitants was the new house tax which the Raja imposed to pay for the lamp post and similar amenities! Then, again, with reference to the famine, he was at once ready to do his best for his people, and the only defect in his administration was that he sent starving people to be fed, but did not himself meet the expense! He was punctilious in his religious observances, he acted according to his belief in feeding the poor pilgrims to the extent of an average of four hundred odd meals per day, and, in sympathy with the Jain tenets, provided for the feeding of ownerless dogs. We too have homes for ownerless dogs here in London! Now may I say a few words on the larger aspects of this "Forgotten Page of History." Last night I took up that very valuable book by the late Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghav-ay-ngar, entitled "Forty Years of British Rule in Madras," and he begins by giving a series of quotations from letters which were written home by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century describing the condition of things existing in South India at that time, and it was astonishing to read of the oppression which was suffered by the unfortunate people. There are some people who might object to going back into such details as the lecturer had given in his paper. Perhaps they would rather draw a veil over the past. It seems to me that this is a mistake; we cannot get on unless we can compare the present with the past in order to see what progress, if any, has been made. It is rather rash to quote poetry, but there is a little poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes which occurs to me, which is to be found, I think, in "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." It begins with a reference to a little insignificant shell, which gradually year by year grows into beauty as each last year's shell is rejected and thrown off, until the magnificent pearly nautilus is developed. It is equally applicable to States and Kingdoms as to individuals:

"Build thee more noble mansions, O my soul,  
As the swift seasons roll.  
Leave thy low-vaulted past.  
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,  
Shut thee from heaven by a dome more vast,  
Till thou thyself art free,  
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea."

All good government should endeavour to help the State and the people to "leave their low-vaulted past," and to build the more "noble mansions" of justice, truth and benevolence, as the years roll by.

That is exactly what was done in the Raja's Kingdom by the work of the British Administrator, as described by Sir Frederick Lely this evening.

After all, what we want to do in India as in England by the progress of

administration, is to try and elevate the people in every possible way, and to endeavour to make the people themselves adopt a similar aim. It may be some people may object to this unveiling of the past, but we require all these details of history, or comparison fails. Where should we be if we were to leave out the whole of our past?

May I say once more, ladies and gentlemen, that we are extremely indebted to the lecturer for his admirable paper. I personally feel as though I had been taken right away from the present into the midst of the village life of that distant past.

MIRZA ABBAS ALI BAIG said that he had heard the lecture with great interest, and he thought he could guess the name of the State to which reference had been made, and also the name of the Administrator, although a very discreet veil had been drawn over both. At all events, we know the Administrator is here in this room. He, (the speaker), had been connected with a State adjoining this particular one alluded to in the paper. The Raja traced his descent from a monkey, although the family were not aware of the theory of Darwin, and had never heard the great scientist's name. In that respect they were, perhaps, wiser than the majority of us, but so far as the simple conditions of life which the lecturer had so humorously described were concerned, they resembled in some respects the primitive man untouched by the march of civilization. When British methods of administration were applied to those primitive conditions the improvement was quick and visible in a very short time. The administration in this case only lasted three years and yet the results achieved were astonishing. He had visited that State a long time afterwards, and was much struck by the clean and broad streets, the picturesque buildings, the excellent water supply, and the shady avenues of trees, the port improvements, and the general material prosperity of the people, of which evidences were everywhere visible. A practical lesson might be drawn from the paper. It was often said, that it was a great mistake to apply European methods of rule to Oriental conditions, especially to such conditions as prevailed in India. There was, he thought, still a large number of people who deprecated the application of Western methods to Indian administration, but the lecture supplied a very effective answer to them. Though that eminent stranger who went amongst an alien people had no ties of sympathy with them, and was looked upon at first with cold indifference, yet when he left that State they were ready to strew the streets with flowers for him, and to this day they blessed his name. He could not conclude his few remarks without also expressing his great appreciation of the extremely interesting speech the Chairman had made. (Hear, hear.)

Sir JOHN MUIR-MACKENZIE said that he had enjoyed the lecture very much indeed, and he thought it should appeal very greatly to everyone who was in any way connected with India. It had also been very gratifying to him to hear Mr. Abbas Ali Baig expressing his appreciation of the value of British administration of Native States. He had always thought that even more wonderful than the establishment of British rule in India had been the establishment of that wonderful understanding with the

Native States ; at the same time as they had to back up the Native States the Government undertook a certain responsibility for the administration. In some cases—such as the case referred to in the paper—it was impossible to allow the Raja to continue, without interference, his rule, and some method had to be devised for carrying on that rule for the time being. As he understood the matter, the British Government at first thought there was no way out of the difficulty but to abolish the Native State and take it over completely. That, if not one of the causes of the Mutiny, was at any rate regarded as one of the reasons for some considerable misunderstanding throughout India. The Government then went to the other extreme by promising to sanction adoptions, but that came to be accompanied with a system of interference in cases of gross maladministration. The only thing, however, that made the possibility of such interference tolerable to the Chiefs in India were those instances of splendid good faith such as had been given in those cases of the restoration of a Native State to its Native Ruler after an administration by the British Government, in some cases of as long as fifty and sixty years, as, for instance, that of Mysore. Could they imagine the German Government, for instance, doing such a thing? They could not imagine another Government on the face of the earth doing that. As a matter of fact it was really a question of whether our own Government ought to have done it. It was done solely for the sake of the benefit of the ruling house, and the people had not generally been consulted. In one recent case, where the rectification of frontiers involved the handing over of certain villages to the Nizam, Lord Curzon's Government refused to rectify the frontier, because the people of the British villages disliked being handed over.

Mr. SYUD HOSSAIN said that he almost wished he had remembered another engagement, as some of those who had been called upon to speak before had done. Still, he was glad of the opportunity of adding a few words to the appreciation which had already been expressed of Sir Frederick Lely's very interesting lecture. As he sat listening to the paper, quite apart from the actual narrative that had been presented, he found his thoughts running to other matters arising out of it. For one thing he thought the lecture afforded a very conclusive proof of the extraordinary power for good which the British administrator in India possessed. He did not think that any serious student of Indian administration could possibly miss knowing, no matter which part of the country might be taken into consideration, instances of that kind of really beneficent administration on the part of British officers in the interests of the people committed to their charge, and he knew from his own experience and knowledge, as in the case of this particular administrator—and they would all like to keep up the anonymity, more especially as it was so unnecessary!—that in every other part of India there were names and memories of British officers which were cherished to this day. It must be borne in mind that just as that maximum power for good lies in that kind of absolute and uncontrolled and almost autocratic power, the inevitable corollary was, he supposed, that it was occasionally possible that



the same power might lend itself to results which were not nearly as wholesome as those which had been described to-day. Unfortunately, in the history of British administration, such instances had figured. None the less, however much one might deplore that, the fact remained that important reforms had been for the most part made possible by the devoted life-work of a band of men, who, in spite of the occasional eccentricities and wrong-headedness of some of them, had brought a single minded devotion to the work with which they had been entrusted; and if some day India found herself in a position to properly appraise their services he thought she would not be found wanting in gratitude to those men.

A very interesting point had been raised by the Chairman in regard to the alleged views of some people that details of past conditions of the kind described to-day would be better left alone. He could hardly understand what kind of individuals those might be who were anxious, as had been suggested, that books of history should remain closed, and that historical particulars should not be cited at all. Personally, so far from having any wish for any chapter of Indian history to be kept unopened, he had always complained that they did not know enough of the past history of India at the present day, and it almost looked as if there had been a kind of systematic principle followed to preclude any knowledge of the history of India from the educational system of this country. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge prescribed any compulsory course for the study of Indian history, and the record of the other universities was, he believed, no better. The result was shown in the colossal ignorance of all things Indian which one found on every hand. That was not all, because side by side with the general ignoring of Indian history one found a peculiar school of historians growing up which claimed to lay before a European audience the facts of Indian history. It was too late to go into details, but as a general statement he would like to say—making the fullest acknowledgment to certain well-known exceptions—that the majority of so-called histories of India produced under British auspices lacked a correct and unbiassed grasp of the facts and tendencies underlying the whole movement of things in India. They lacked perspective no less than principle. He was, however, glad to say that there was a gradual recognition of that on all sides, and he believed there was a new school of historians growing up who were trying to make amends.

One or two things should clearly be borne in mind; it was, of course, an axiom that one of the essentials in history was perspective. Sweeping generalizations should not be evolved on the basis of important and interesting papers like the one they had listened to. Such chapters did not make up the history of India; they were only fragments. The history of India—even British India—represented a very much larger volume than could possibly be made up by such fragments. Then again some measure of precaution was necessary in judging of old conditions of things by new, up-to-date and foreign standards. In order to arrive at a correct appraisal contemporary standards had to be constantly kept in view. The past of India, as in the case of other countries, could only be faithfully mirrored in the environment of the past.

The kind of work, however, described in the paper was work for which no educated Indian had anything but the deepest appreciation, and he did not think there would be two opinions as to the desirability of its continuation in India. They could not have too much of the spirit of sympathy, the integrity and the administrative competence so finely embodied in the administrator of Sir Frederick Lely's narrative. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman, said that it needed no words of his to emphasize for the meeting their appreciation of the lecture. With regard to the question of the possibility of keeping grain stored in large quantities against famine years, he had himself seen enormous stacks of grain which had been kept for years as security against years of famine; and, so far as he knew it kept very well. Then with regard to the remark of the lecturer that the lot of an Indian ruler was often one as enviable as any in the world, he would like to say that the lot of the British Political Officer, or temporary administrator, was also one of the most enviable offices in the world. One could not help feeling sorry, in a way, that all those old-time conditions were disappearing, and he thought it would be hardly possible in India to day to find such a picture as the lecturer had given them in his paper.

Mr. KEITH (of Edinburgh), in seconding the vote of thanks, said that even the agriculturists in *this* country were not more ready to change their old-time methods than they had been in India, and the people also found that taxes put on here were not more readily taken off than they were in India! He understood that it was proposed to call a conference of very important people in this country and from the Dominions, to try and formulate a scheme for dealing with Imperial concerns, apart altogether from National concerns, and he wished to ask the Association to consider how India could come into this forthcoming conference, and what voice India should have in that Imperial legislation, because it was quite certain there would be many changes after the war was over.

The vote on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously, the Chairman expressing his thanks for their appreciation of himself and the lecturer.

The proceedings then terminated.

Sir John Jardine writes to say that had he been able to preside he would have spoken as follows: "I would introduce the reader of this paper, Sir Frederick Lely, to those who have not served in India, and are not acquainted with his career and work, as one of those Civil Servants who, after much experience in earlier years of rural life in British India and the Native States, was picked out by the Viceroy to administer one of our Indian Provinces. I have read the paper. You will recognize amid its picturesque and humorous points the trained sagacity of the statesman, the genial statesman too, who sees much that is good in the old ways, who follows Francis Bacon in his dislike to meddle with law-abiding sub-

jects in regard to religion or their customs or means of life. I may add, before the discussion begins, that I agree with Sir Frederick in what he says about levy of land assessments, the waste that occurs where the crops have to be brought to the village grain-yards, as happened in my time in some of the Kathiawad States, and the advantage of following custom in the villages. Lawyers here will remember that custom was the life of copyhold and of nearly all the law our manorial Court-Leets, and Court-Barons used to dispense. The impression left on my mind after thinking over the paper is that the manager of this State attained better results in preserving the village rights in such things as commons and in keeping up the village community, than were attained in this country under the policy of enclosing all the intermixed arable fields and waste commons, which in the last century has obliterated the system which prevailed from before the Norman Conquest."

# THE STUDY OF SEMITIC ORIENTALISM DURING THE WAR (1914 -- 1915) AND FRENCH ISLAM\*

BY PROFESSOR EDOUARD MONTET

(Geneva University)

THE War, as will easily be understood, has caused a cessation of publications dealing with Orientalism. The cause of this suspension of a highly specialized class of work lies partly in the fact that a very large number of students who deal with this side of study have gone to the front, or are doing some sort of work connected with the army of their country. But if the subject is looked at generally, it is clear that the war has cast into the background everything which is not in direct contact with it, or at any rate closely bound up with it. Oriental studies were bound to be the particular sufferers, because, as Renan was so fond of repeating, they are the most disinterested, or in other words, the least utilitarian.

In 1914, before the outbreak of war, a certain number of publications dealing with Oriental matters appeared. These will be reserved for consideration on another occasion. In this article those only will be mentioned which have appeared during the war period, that is to say between August, 1914, and December, 1915. These publications are very few in number, and emanate with few exceptions from neutral countries—a fact which is hardly surprising. But, on the other hand, as will become clear later on, the

\* Translated by Lieutenant P. S. Cannon, the Lancashire Fusiliers.

war has developed in the belligerent countries a special type of literature, closely concerned with the belligerents themselves and with the operations of the war, and at the same time highly interesting to all those who have any enthusiasm for the East and for Oriental life.

Various articles on the Old Testament, the Semitic languages, etc., have appeared in various periodicals, but for the most part without great interest attaching to them. We ourselves, no less than others, are under the power of the same influence, which leads all minds in the belligerent countries towards subjects connected with the war. How could it be otherwise with a man such as the author of these lines, whose son has ever since the outbreak of the war been at the front, defending the sacred cause of the Allies?

Among works of a scientific nature in the field of Hebrew studies, two only are worthy of notice. They are sketches only, but are the foreword of more important publications, which should be studied with care when they appear, as they probably will, after the war.

The first of these studies to which we would draw attention is that of E. Naville: "The Unity of Genesis," being the annual address delivered before the Victoria Institute (June 21, 1915). Since that date the author has delivered three lectures in London on the same subject; they will, in all probability, soon be repeated in French at the University of Geneva, and published in English later. Naville, as readers of this review will doubtless know, defends the traditional theory of the Old Testament; we have already spoken in this review of several works in defence of this theory—a defence founded on arguments drawn from the study of Egyptology, which is his special subject, and which he teaches at the University of Geneva.

The second work we would wish to cite here is that of Charles Tschernowitz, on "The Formation of Schulcan Aruch." We have several times had occasion to mention Schulcan. Tschernowitz is a Talmudist of the very highest

repute among Jew circles in Russia. This little work, which he has just published, is only a fragment of a far more important work on the "Codification of Halacha," which will be published after the war. The Halacha is of course the judicial part of the Talmud. As regards the Schulcan Aruch, it is, after the Talmud, the most popular book in Jewish circles. The Russian author demonstrates with great acumen that it owes its existence to a historical necessity, and that it has passed through an inevitable course of development. We will await with the greatest interest the important work he here announces to us.

We have received from Spain, since the declaration of war, two important publications in Arab and Islamic studies. Both owe their origin to the enterprise of a society known under the name of the "Junta para ampliacion de estudios e investigaciones cientificas" (Society for the development of scientific study and investigation). The first (by date of publication) is "The History of the Judges of Cordova," by the Arab writer Abdullah Mohamed ben Harith El-Khochani, a native of Kairouan, but settled in Andalusia, who lived under the reign of El-Hakem II. (976-1006). It is to the protection of this Caliph that the historian of Kairouan owed the power to carry out the project he had conceived of writing this Chronicle, which is a most interesting account of the social life of Mussulman Spain under the Caliphate of the Omiades. In compiling his Chronicle the author has only employed exclusively Spanish documents, and he has in collaboration a great number of persons of Cordova and Andalusia, from the monarch down to the representative of the humblest classes. The volume published by the "Junta" contains the Arab text taken from the only manuscript (which is at the Bodleian Library at Oxford), and an excellent translation into Spanish by Julian Ribera.

The second of these Spanish publications is a "Miscellany of Arab Studies and Texts." This volume is composed of five treatises :

1. An article by a Danish Orientalist, R. Besthorn, on the "Anonymous Document of Copenhagen and Madrid," an Arab manuscript, and the most precious of the Arab MSS. in the Royal Library at Copenhagen; it is of exceptional value for the history of Spain from 1170-1213.

2. A careful and interesting study by Pioto Vives, on "The Numismatic Reforms of the Almohades," describing the synthesizing of the monetary system of the Hispano-African Mussulman States from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Numerous woodcuts reproduce in phototype the coins of this long epoch.

3. A Catalogue, compiled by Angel Gonzales Palencia, of certain "Manuscripts, Arab and Aljamiados (in Spanish-Arab dialect and written in Arab characters), from Madrid and Toledo." All are either previously unpublished or only incompletely published. The Aljamiados MSS. described and analyzed in this thesis are all written in Aragonese dialect.

4. "An addition to the edition of the *Tecmila* of Ibn El Abbar, published by Codera." This extremely lengthy (264 pp.) Arab text, followed by the various readings of the Cairo text, with Codera's edition (195 pp.) and a copious index (77 pp.), has been published by M. Alarcon and C. A. Gonzales Palencia. A woodcut gives, in facsimile, a page of the Cairo manuscript (Library of Soliman Pacha Abaza).

5. "Letter of Abenaboo (Ibn Abu)," in vulgar Arabic of Granada, with a facsimile in phototype of the original letter, is the subject of a study in the Arab dialect of Granada, by M. Alarcon. It is a document of the time of Philip II.—that is to say, about the second half of the sixteenth century. It is dated July, 964 (A.D. 1557). Ibn Abu was one of the chiefs of the rebellious Moors in the Alpujarras (Sierra Nevada). The letter is addressed to Don Hernando de Barradas,

a native of Cadiz, an important person, who offered his services to Don Juan of Austria, to act as intermediary in the negotiations entered into with a view to gaining the surrender of the rebels.

We now pass on to the war as depicted in the periodicals of a scientific character, which deal with Islam and Mussalman countries.

"*L'Afrique Française*," monthly organ of the "*Comité de l'Afrique Française*" and of the "*Comité du Maroc*," has published in its latest number (October-December, 1915) an extremely interesting article on the subject of Morocco. This article, entitled: "*Le Maroc en paix*," is by R. Thierry. It is a picture of the situation in Morocco at the end of 1915. The author gives us much information on the subject of the Franco-Moroccan Exhibition held at Casablanca, which closed on November 5. This exhibition, at which had been collected the products of Morocco, and also those which France can import into that country, was the work of an eminent man, General Lyautey, Resident-General of France in Morocco, to whom is due this bold conception. It is indeed admirable that in time of war an exhibition of this kind could have been arranged and opened; its accomplishment demanded not only that profound knowledge of the population of Morocco which General Lyautey possesses, but also his robust faith in the destiny of his country. The exhibition was a complete success, and more than one native, on leaving Casablanca, was heard to ask: "When will it be our turn to have a Big Fair?" (The *Souk-el-Aam*, literally the Year's Fair, in contradistinction to the weekly market-days.) This exhibition will leave not only the remembrance of the economic manifestation of which it was the scene, but also a collection of reports and notices, some of which have already been published, but which will be all collected later on into several volumes, in which we shall be able to discover a complete account of the state of Morocco from every point of view



during 1915. Among these documents there is one which cannot be said to lack originality—a lecture in Arabic by Si Bou Chaib Doukkali on “L’Exposition d’après le Coran.” This is, so far as one can judge, a study, purely Mussalman in spirit—a justification found in the Holy Book for an institution so peculiar to Europe and America, so characteristic of Christian countries, as an Exhibition.

The “*Revue de Monde Musalman*” (Paris, E. Leroux) has devoted one of its latest numbers, that dated December, 1914, but which did not appear until some time in 1915, to the question of “French Mussalmans and the War.” This enormous volume (389 pages in 8vo.) consists of numerous testimonies of Mussalman loyalty towards France, coming from all the Mussalman countries administered by France. It includes no less than sixty-one documents, of which several are very long, and all drawn up in Arabic, with facsimile phototypes of the Arabic text, and accurate translation into French.

In a brief introduction it is explained that the French Mussalmans have not been content with answering on the field of battle the appeal to a “Holy War made in Germany,” as it is termed by the Dutch Orientalist, Snouck-Hurgronje. They have gone further, and affirmed in writing at the same time their religious convictions and their political fidelity to France. These written statements come from persons of varied standing—heads of States, such as the Bey of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco; chieftains, such as the Emirs of Adrar, and the Sheikhs of West Africa; Cadis and Presidents of Mussalman tribunals in Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, Senegal, Mauretania, and Guinea; religious chiefs, Ulemas, Sheikhs of Brotherhoods, notabilities, saints, and men of letters; fraternities of inhabitants of Mussulman cities such as Timbuctu, Oualata, and Dakar. Among the signatories of these documents there are some of high religious standing among African Moslems, such as the Sheikh Sidia of Boutilimit in Trarza; Sheikh Saad Bouh in Lower Mauretania,

Senegal and Guinea—the brother of the late Ma Èl Ainin, the notorious agitator ; Bou Chaib Doukkali, recognized representative of the family of one of the most venerated saints in Morocco—Moulay Bou Chaib, patron of Azemmour.

The most striking point in these declarations, which come from such diverse parts of Africa, is on the one hand the fidelity shown to France, and the eulogies offered of her methods of governing Mussalman countries ; and on the other hand, the condemnation expressed of the orientation of Turkish policy towards Germany, a country of barbarians who have violated the laws of nations. It is interesting to quote some typical declarations taken out of these documents :

“ Germany is universally detested for her brutality and her barbarity ” (Sheikh of the Brotherhood of Rahmaniya, in the celebrated Zaouiya of Tolga, in Algeria).

“ The Turks will lose by their alliance with Germany their power and their reputation ” (Sheikh of the Zaouiya of Kenadsa, Algeria).

“ As for Turkey, the men who govern her have been blindfolded ” (Sherif Ahmed ben El-Hasani of Wezzan to the brothers of the Brotherhood of Tayyibiya, Morocco).

“ The Turks pretend to belong to the Mussalman religion ; but the only part they have in Islam is in name ” (Mokaddem of the Brotherhood of the Derkaoua at Mechriya, Algeria).

“ The Turkish Khalifate is illegal ” (Ahmed ben El-Mouay notable of Fez, late Ambassador of the Moroccan Government at Madrid).

“ No one can ignore the fact that the Turks have never defended Islam, and that they have never had the condition of the Mussalman world at heart. They have swerved aside from the line of conduct laid down by the four orthodox Caliphs ; they have left the strait and narrow path of truth and equity. It is to them that the present state of the Mussalman world is due ; they have dragged

it with them into the abyss of ignorance" (Abd-El-Kader ben Mohamed Ech-Cherkaoui, of the celebrated Zaouia of Bou-Djad, of Morocco).

In face of these statements, so many in number, so categorical in tone, so convincing, and emanating from such eminent sources, the leaflets which German propaganda disseminates over neutral countries in order to discredit in particular the relations of France and her Mussalman subjects, cannot but appear to be wholly valueless. We had recently in our hands a German leaflet, written in French, and giving Constantinople as the place where it is printed, but bearing the name of no editor or printer. In point of fact we obtained it from Zurich, where there is a well-known distributing centre for German propagandist literature. It is entitled, "Islam in the French Army during the War of 1914-1915," by Lieutenant El-Hadj Abdallah, Constantinople, 1915. Its aim is to prove that in the French army the tirailleurs of Mussalman religion (Algerian, Tunisian, Moroccan, and Senegalese) are ill-treated, ill-clad, badly fed, uselessly sacrificed—in fact mere "butcher's meat," and treated with the utmost contempt by their officers. Having had the opportunity, during my travels in Morocco, of living for several months in various tirailleur camps in the four regions above-mentioned, particularly at the camp of Dar Debibagh near Fez, during July and August, 1914, that is to say at the time of the outbreak of the war, I am in a position to state that the relations between the Mussalman soldiers and their French officers were marked on the one hand by a discipline necessarily severe among this class of troops, and on the other hand of a kindly care to which the men responded by absolute loyalty and a touching devotion to their officers. The men were well-fed and well-clothed, and their religious customs were scrupulously respected. The proof of this is shown in the fact that France continues to obtain Mussalmans to volunteer for service at the front, and that the sum total of such Mussal-

man regiments forms a very considerable portion of the French army. The pamphlet to which we were referring ends by a grotesquely idyllic picture of the lot of English or Russian Mussalman prisoners in Germany. The author would in all seriousness have us to believe that "in a district of luxuriant vegetation, recalling the climate of Africa," the German authorities have established near Berlin a special concentration camp, where Mussalman soldiers are interned. The German Government has constructed there a Mosque, and Moorish baths and cafés, such as can be seen in North Africa; and the prisoners are the objects of constant solicitude to the German Government, and realize that the latter are the Mussalman's best friends. The German author has here gone beyond the remotest pretence of reality. Not content with lies about the ill-treatment inflicted upon tirailleurs in France, he has gone on to depict an entirely imaginary state of affairs, and one truly ridiculous. All those who have lived, as I have, at Berlin, know that the environs of that city do not in the least call to mind either the climate of Africa nor its vegetation in the very remotest degree. Evidently the author considers his neutral readers to be mental imbeciles.

How different from these stupid and lying figments of the brain is the reality—I mean the way in which the French Government is treating its Mussalman soldiers and subjects. This thought brings us back to the "*Afrique Française*," of which we were speaking a page or so back. In the same number, to which reference has already been made, can be read one of the most instructive articles on the subject under discussion, entitled, "*L'Islam Français*." We read in it of a Bill laid before the Chamber of Deputies, the contents of which throws a flood of light on the Mussalman policy of the French Government. The Bill proposes to introduce Mussalman Legal Counsellors into the International Commission on Mussalman Affairs, which is composed of representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War, the Interior, and the Colonies. Let us look

at the principal provisions of the project. Four seats in the International Commission on Mussalman Affairs are assigned to Legal Counsellors representing respectively Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and West Africa. The Commission will be bound to consult the Mussalman representatives on every scheme, every bill, every proposed regulation laid before it. A salary of 20,000 francs a year will be allowed to each Counsellor to cover the expenses incurred in travel and residence in Paris. The Counsellors must be learned in Mussalman law, forty years of age, and must for at least ten years have been doing judicial work; they must possess considerable scientific knowledge and undisputed moral authority; they will be nominated by the French Government for a period of five years.

Another Bill proposes the opening of a credit of 500,000 francs by the Foreign Minister, to be devoted to the establishment of a foundation at Mecca and Medina, by the purchase or construction of two hostelries which will be placed gratuitously at the disposition of pilgrims from Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and the French African Colonies. These measures will produce an immense impression in the French North African, West African, Equatorial and Somali Colonies, and they are an earnest of the interest shown by France in her Mussalman subjects; they are the justification of the Mussalman policy of the French Government.

To the efforts of the French Government to treat its Mussalman dependents in the manner demanded by considerations of right and justice should be added those of a recently founded (1915) French Society at Paris, which is under the patronage of the President of the Republic and the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber, bearing the name of "Les Amitiés musulmanes." Its object is to increase the reciprocal good feeling between France and her friends and Islam, and further to establish relief centres for Mussalmans within and beyond the borders of France. It has established at Paris, under the name of the "Foyer

Musulman," a club for Mussalman soldiers in Paris—on leave, or wounded, or convalescent. In the club-house, situated in a superb mansion in the Boulevard des Italiens, a little mosque has been installed.

The readers of this REVIEW, bearing in mind the interesting facts that have been laid before them, will doubtless now realize how excellent are the relations between the Mussalman soldiers in the French service and the Frenchmen who are fighting side by side with them; and they will understand that Mussalman loyalty towards France is not a meaningless expression. That is what the war has taught us on this particular point.

The connection of these highly practical questions with Oriental studies is self-evident. All scientific work accomplished by students of Arabic has as its necessary result a deeper knowledge of the Islamic world; and this knowledge is very closely concerned with the solution of political, religious, social, and economic difficulties which may arise between the Mussalman subjects of a European State and the Government of that State. I hope to deal more than once in the future with this important subject in the pages of this REVIEW.

## THE AVESTIC H(A)OMA AND THE VEDIC SOMA<sup>1</sup>

BY PROFESSOR MILLS

THE extraordinary "position" of the Vedic Soma calls for an emphatic word in estimating the attributes of the Avestic H(a)oma. In the Veda, religious imagination seems to us at first sight to have gone quite wild upon the theme—that is to say, unless we make due allowance for the somewhat curious fact that the purified or sanctified Soma was positively exalted to a very high fixed position as a Deity, or unless we account for the expressions used upon the score of metaphor—and priestly shrewdness—otherwise they seem to us to be at times exaggerated to the last degree. Starting from the natural stimulus produced by the decoction, they soon claimed its effects to be an inherent and primeval force in *the very movements of the universe (sic)*. We are at once reminded of the "idea" of the "idealists," or of "the sovereign force of heat" with the physicists, and even of "electricity." Not only does the stimulus pervade the mental action of the very highest of the Gods, but it actually "generates" them, stirring up the generative instinct of their originals (*sic*) to that degree. He or it was "their Father" (*sic*). (A high claim for "spirit.") All this is explained by the commentators as a sort of hyperbole of riddle. Regarded as a high God, Soma's name was linked with that of Indra, the leading Deity in a large por-

<sup>1</sup> See the "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxi., Yasna IX., X., XI.

tion of the Veda, and so with that of Agni.' Yet we moderns must not yield too freely to the associations of our own alcoholic stimulus, which seem to us to be unchangeably grotesque. Nothing humorous, let us remember, attached to the idea of stimulus at first in those early days. The sun, as we can understand, was almost necessarily worshipped as a God; so the other heavenly bodies, so the fire in general, the winds, the oceans, etc.; but when the stimulating effects of alcoholic extracts upon the brain were first discovered they were taken as a miracle in downright earnest, altogether unique, unlike all other things. The sun, wind, fire, etc., acted upon inanimate as well as animate objects, but here was what instantly affected the human intellect. It was the result of the act of some particular God. What else could they think? They saw the lightning and heard the thunder, with their effects; and they were at once certain that they were the results of the power of some particular God,—how could they doubt that this mysterious effect of a decoction upon the human brain itself was equally due to the direct act of an exalted personal Deity? This high appreciation of the effect of Soma was doubtless encouraged, if it was not originated, by the priests. Its sanctified influence increased their power over the people, for they alone were entitled to execute the indispensable function of purifying it or of "consecrating" it. The Soma seems to have derived its full supernatural efficacy only from this, according to the hymns, and not so much at all from its natural effect as a distilled product without the priestly intervention; it is *Soma paxamāna* everywhere, a whole book of the Veda, the ninth, being devoted to it, while it is elsewhere frequently prominent. Whether its effect upon Indra, who became intoxicated by drinking it excessively (see below), was owing to the priestly act or not seems uncertain. (That hymn is the first known attempt in history to make a joke upon the subject.)

The traces of all this are more dimly seen in the Avesta, yet they are there. Neither the H(a)oma nor the Soma was



the original source, either one of the other. The similarities of the various points about each of the two do not at all argue any immediate or original dependence of either one of them upon the other, as if either were the direct original of the other; on the contrary, the differences between the depicments of the two, the H(a)oma and the Soma, may furnish one more proof, if any more were needed, to show that the Avestic H(a)oma had no immediate early historical connection with the Indian Soma, either as the cause of the features of the Soma or as their effect. These two were twin-sisters, like the nations and their languages—growths from the same primæval original, with only a much later effect of the one upon the other.

I have translated our Avestic H(a)oma Hymn in S.B.E., xxxi., endeavouring to imitate the flow of the original rhythm, and frequently using auxiliary words for this, as also to point the sense more closely. A bare literal word-for-word would have been as easy as it would have been inadequate. The melody of the rhythm is an essential part of the reproduction of ideas.

I hold that it is impossible to approach even the exterior precincts of such a subject as “Avesta and Veda” without a thorough and exhaustive study of both sides of it. I therefore give here my translation of some very prominent Vedic Hymns to illustrate and fortify my version of the H(a)oma Hymn in S.B.E., xxxi., 1887, which see.

## RIG VEDA IX., 113

### SOMA PAVAMĀNA

#### I.

By holy sieve<sup>1</sup> let Indra drink,  
Indra, foe-killer, storing strength,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>By Śaryanāvān. Śaryanāvān is “a lake in the Kutukshatra district”; but a heavenly Soma jar, or sieve, is here intended. This is the usual sincere but inflated style recurring at almost every strophe.

<sup>2</sup>So the later Zarathushtra in the Haoma (Hom) Yasht, “I make my claim on thee (Haoma) for strength and vigour of the entire frame.”

Strength in his soul he stores for work,<sup>1</sup>  
Great hero-deeds about to do.  
For Indra Soma-drops flow<sup>1</sup> (fast)  
(For Indra's martial power).

Be purified,<sup>2</sup> Thou Lord of Lands,<sup>3</sup>  
Shedding thy blessings from the jar<sup>4</sup>.  
With holy song, true-hearted belief,  
With hottest ardour, O thou pressed.<sup>5</sup>  
For Indra Soma-drops flow (fast)  
(For Indra's inspiration).

Parjanya-reared,<sup>6</sup> the steer of might<sup>7</sup>  
Whom Surya's daughter<sup>8</sup> hither brought  
Gandharvas<sup>9</sup> seized, in Soma set  
The sacred juice.  
For Indra Soma-drops flow (fast)  
(For Indra's matchless power).

<sup>1</sup> So the H(a)oma Yasht, "Forth let thy healing liquors flow" (x., 12). This refrain is a later addition, but it should not be omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Here the H(a)oma Yasht curiously fits in, "Be purified"—so here; and then, "As with a man's full force I press thee down" (in the mortar).

<sup>3</sup> So in the H(a)oma, "Thou tribe-lord and chieftain of the lands" (ix., 17).

<sup>4</sup> Ārjika, one of the four quarters of heaven, but here, as usual, an exaltation of the Consecrated Utensil—jar or vat. Recall the H(a)oma, "From the silver cup I pour thee to the golden chalice over" (Hom Yasht, x., 17).

<sup>5</sup> *Tapasā*.

<sup>6</sup> *Parjanya*, the God of the rain-cloud. So in the H(a)oma, "I praise the cloud that waters thee and the rain that makes thee grow."

<sup>7</sup> Another, "the wild (?) steer." The steer seems to be the juice, hardly the plant, just here.

<sup>8</sup> Sūrya's daughter *Sraddhā* = "faith." "Faith brought the plant" (*sic*).

<sup>9</sup> Gandharvas, guardians of the heavenly Soma.

## 4.

Law-speaker, bright<sup>1</sup> through holy rite,  
 Truth-speaker,<sup>2</sup> true in deed as well,  
 Creed-speaker, Soma, thou art King,  
 Creator<sup>3</sup> made thee fit to this.

For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
 (For Indra's holy faith).

## 5.

The truly mighty one, sublime,  
 His streams flow on<sup>4</sup> together poured,  
 His juices of the juicy mix  
 By prayer made pure.<sup>5</sup>  
 O yellow one, the consecrate.<sup>6</sup>

For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
 (With Brahma's help).

## 6.

Where Brahma-priest, O purified,  
 Intones the metric lines to thee  
 By pressure-stone in Soma great<sup>7</sup>  
 Through Soma gendering the joy.<sup>8</sup>

For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
 (For Indra's sacred rapture).

<sup>1</sup> Bright through clearing out the particles. So in the H(a)oma, "Bright and sparkling let them hold on their steadfast way" (x., 19).

<sup>2</sup> So the Hom, "Thou art versed in many sayings, and true and holy words." "Thou dost ask no wily questions—thou questionest direct" (x., 25).

<sup>3</sup> So the Hom, "Swift and wise hath the well-skilled Creator made thee" (x., 10). Here the *dhatar* is again an exalted term for the officiating functionary. The entire ceremony, with all its utensils and service, is, as it were, lifted to heaven in imagination.

<sup>4</sup> So in the H(a)oma, "Forth let thy healing liquors flow for the inspiring of the saints" (x., 12).

<sup>5</sup> Another, "Drip golden (?) to prayer"; but here is voc.

<sup>6</sup> Pressure by the priest was "consecration."

<sup>7</sup> "As he swings the stones." His office is exalted, "magnified," by the consecrating pressure with the stones.

<sup>8</sup> The joy of the sacred intoxication.

7.

Where everlasting Light<sup>1</sup> abides,  
In world where glory<sup>1</sup> ever sits,  
There bring me, Soma purified,  
In world immortal, undestroyed.  
For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
(For Indra's immortality).

8.

Where reigns the King, Vivasvān's<sup>2</sup> son  
(Yama the first to live on high),  
Where is the inmost cleft<sup>3</sup> of heaven,  
Where those life-waters<sup>4</sup> fresh shall flow,  
Make me immortal. Soma, there.  
For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
(For Indra's immortality).

Where at full-will<sup>5</sup> each walks and acts  
In the third sky of third-high heaven,<sup>6</sup>  
Where worlds are full of shining light,<sup>7</sup>  
There make me deathless, purified.  
For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
(For Indra's life on high).

<sup>1</sup> Jyōtir ajasram, "unexhausted light." The light of the star-crowded heaven; but, like similar expressions with us, it has spiritual meaning. So the H(a)oma Yasht, "I pray to thee for heaven, the best world of the saints shining all-glorious."

<sup>2</sup> So in the Hom, Vivasvān's son is prominent. Yama = Yama, "the royal," or "the brilliant."

<sup>3</sup> *Avārodhanam* - "the shut-in(-down) place."

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "The young waters." Recall the non-stagnant perennial springs, "the waters of life."

<sup>5</sup> *Anukāmaṃ carāṇam*. So the later Z. in the H(a)oma, "I make my claim on thee, that I may have free course among the settlements"; and, again, "Like fifteen yearlings walked the two forth, son and father."

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "In the third sky." "In the third heaven of heaven."

<sup>7</sup> Evidently "the orbs of the midnight," but with spiritual allusion, as in the Christian eschatology.

10.

Where wish and longings are full-met,  
 Where spreads the reach of golden-red,<sup>1</sup>  
 Where taste<sup>2</sup> gives satisfaction,  
 There make me immortal, Soma pure.  
     For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
     (For Indra's satisfaction).

11.

Where joy's rejoicings ever sit,  
 And raptures are out-raptured,<sup>3</sup>  
 Where wish of wishes is full-reached,  
 There make me deathless, Soma-God.  
     For Indra Soma-drops flow on  
     (For Indra's immortality).

<sup>1</sup> The sunset. Others, "sky"; another, "the highest point of the sun's course"; each meant as the central seat of the heavenly home; *vishtāpam* = "the spread-out platform"; others, merely "the place."

<sup>2</sup> Lit. *svadhā*, elsewhere = "the offering drink"; but here recall ambrosia, which, however, rather refers to "food." Nectar would be more immediate.

<sup>3</sup> . . . *mudah pramuda āsate*. So also in the H(a)oma, "for manifold delight" (ix., 27). Well did the distinguished Roth say that no expressions with regard to the beatified future could be stronger; yet where is the Avestic subjectivity?

No Zoroastrian should fail to get a general knowledge of the chief Vedic Hymns which bear upon Avesta. They are now exceedingly accessible, having been translated by so many able scholars, minor disagreements being, as everywhere, unavoidable.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TURK

BY SIR EDWIN PEARCE

I AM asked by you to give my opinion on the present-day Turk, and also on a few persons who seem unable to estimate him justly. On many occasions I have pointed out that a distinction should be made between the Turkish peasant and those who hold authority under the Government. The former is a kindly, sober, clean, and, generally speaking, not unlikeable man. He is usually very poor, but is ready to share his poverty with a stranger. He is less intelligent and less instructed than his Christian neighbours. Under ordinary circumstances, he often sees them more prosperous than himself, but he is consoled by his belief in *kismet*, and is far from being a bad fellow. When, however, his rulers tell him that Christians ought not to be better off than he is, and especially when he is told that his rulers would be well pleased to see the Christians receive a lesson, and that he would be rendering a service to his faith if he were to join in plundering them, his cupidity joins hands with religious and mob fanaticism, and the simple-minded Turk becomes something like a wild beast. Let it always be remembered that it is not the *ulema* who have been behind the cruelties perpetrated by the lower-class Moslems, but the creatures who were influenced by Abdul Hamid and his gang.

Englishmen, even in the worst times, have never defended

these outrages. They, and Frenchmen too, have constantly protected, as far as possible, the victims of similar cruelty. They did so as far back as 1825, during the massacre of Chios. They did so in 1876, and especially during the orgies under the late Sultan in 1892-97. The Turk rather admires us for thus defending the victims of his cruelty.

I judge from the papers you send me that among those who remain defenders of Turkish action with reference to the Christians, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall continues to hold a somewhat conspicuous position. Now, I have an admiration for that gentleman as a novelist, but none for him as an historian. He should confine his imagination for use in his novels, some of which are really excellent. Some three years ago he startled the foreign communities in Constantinople by suggesting that the period of massacres by the Turks of Christians was limited to last century, and by making a number of other statements which, unintentionally of course, gave an utterly false notion of the dealing of the Turks with subject races. I replied in the *Nineteenth Century* to his article by one controverting his statements, and showing that he was entirely mistaken; that instead of government by massacre being a new invention, it was the only one which the Turks had ever practised in reference to their treatment of such races. It is too late to reopen the general question. I may, however, quote the following from my article in the *Nineteenth Century*, published in February, 1913:

“In his desire to find further explanation of the unhappy feeling existing between Moslems and Christians, the writer seizes upon usury; ‘for usury, beloved of Eastern Christians, is to enlightened Moslems an abomination.’ I add that it is also forbidden by the Sheri, or Moslem Sacred Law, just as it was forbidden to the Jews; but I also know that, by a legal fiction, usury is tolerated even by the Sacred Courts. The writer is wrong when he asserts that a Christian could not, until three years since, acquire land legally. I have seen a score of title-

deeds, or *hodjets*, in the names of Christians,' some of them dated earlier than 1800. The Armenian money-lender, with his usury, 'has been the cause of horrid murders.' This was news to me. I have, therefore, made inquiries of men who know Armenia, and their testimony is: (1) That there is very little money-lending in that country, and still less by Christians to Moslems on the security of land, because, as already stated, the word of the lender would not be taken against that of the Moslem in the Land Courts; (2) that the chief money-lenders in Armenia are Circassians, in which case there would be the word of one Moslem against another."

The verdict of every student of Turkish history would be against him. All the evidence which has come to hand regarding the massacre of Armenians during last year goes to show that the Turks have not forgotten their own traditions, but in addition have learnt new lessons in frightfulness from their German masters. Assuming the evidence which has come forward to be true—and I see no reason to doubt it--the only manner in which the last massacre differs from those of 1892-97 is that the later one was done with more organization and completeness than under Abdul Humid. The deposed Sultan did, indeed, direct the massacres with a considerable amount of skill, but the Turks, under the Germans, have shown greater ability than did their predecessors in their attempt to exterminate the Armenian race.

I have only, in conclusion, to express my regret that a man of Mr. Pickthall's talent should be so blind as not to see the faults of a Government which assassinated Shevket Pasha and other opponents, and has finished by the murder of the Crown Prince, Yussef Izzedin.



## GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA\* .

BY BARON HEYKING

PUBLIC opinion in Great Britain has in the last decade changed considerably in favour of Russia ; and now that the wheel of history seems to revolve with an accelerated speed, this change is more and more accentuated. We have outlived the time when Bismarck managed to keep us apart from each other, and we now stand united against the common foe. . . . But it is not only on the ground of unity of interests that Russo-British friendship must rest. It must rest also on mutual appreciation, and to that effect knowledge of each other is absolutely necessary.

Englishmen are, I am glad to say, nowadays very much inclined to find in Russia national features which appeal to their own ideals. There is, for instance, the religious nature of the Russian people, the strong belief in God and in Christianity which appeals to them. Again, the broad-mindedness, the *человечность*, the humanity and spirituality of Russians, are features which call for sympathy in the heart of Englishmen. The rich national literature of Russia represented by a series of great dramatists and novel-writers, such as Alexis Tolstoy, Ostrovsky, Turgenieff, Poushkin, Lermontoff, Gogol, Leo Tolstoy, Tchekoff, Andreieff, and many others well known in England, evokes a natural interest and admiration of Englishmen, who

\* Speech delivered by the Russian Consul-General at the City Livery Club on March 7.

themselves can boast of such a splendid array of literary men and poets. Further, I may quote Russian music, dramatic art, and dancing, as having found in England general applause and much appreciation. Russian science and learning have been recognized in England as being of a high standard. Such eminent men as the chemist Mendeleyeff, the biologist Metchnikoff, the surgeon Pavloff, the crystallographer Feodoroff, the Oxford Professor of Jurisprudence Vinogradoff, and many others, are well known in England.

Englishmen take an interest in Russia also with a view to developing their trade relations with that country. The prospects of developing Anglo-Russian trade relations seem at present very bright. Both nations aim at mutual close economic relations. It is easy to do business with Russians provided that people do not approach them in a superior sort of way, but with a sincere desire to have their wants supplied, and with a readiness to consider their habits.

We in Russia are sincerely pleased to do business with Englishmen, to work with them for the development of our national economic resources, to emulate their industry, energy and enterprise, to benefit by their methods of organization, and to assist them with all the power which is at our command in the present terrific struggle for the world's peace, for freedom and for right. That is the spirit which animates Russians towards Englishmen.

The Russian nation is very glad to find themselves by the side of Great Britain. Russia has in the past made several efforts to come to an understanding with the United Kingdom – for instance, under the reign of Peter the Great and Nikolas I. ; that she did not succeed then was not her fault, but rather the result of prejudice and political tendencies in England which made Englishmen believe that Sweden, Prussia, Turkey, and other countries should be backed up rather than Russia. Then came the awakening and the realization that “ England had put her money

on the wrong horse," and the Russo-Japanese War, and now the European war, have finally disposed of all the ancient English prejudices against Russia, and have brought England to a full realization of the necessity of closer economic and politic relations between the two empires. The alliance between England and Russia is no longer considered inopportune, but rather as a natural event, inasmuch as these two countries form complements to each other, the one being essentially an agricultural country, and the other an essentially industrial country. There are, indeed, endless possibilities of economic and intellectual exchange between the two countries. Therefore, all the natural conditions, the political requirements and the ethnographical personality of the two nations point, to the great advantages, and to no disadvantages, of permanent close relations between the two nations.

## THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA

(THE REVIVAL OF THE PARISH)

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF (NÉE KIRÉEFF)

“Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?” (1 Cor. vi. 5).

OUR new Metropolitan of Petrograd, Pitirim, fortunately considers the Parish question to be of enormous importance. He ascribes to it even the power for future victory over our enemies. The Metropolitan, of course, is a great authority, and the Duma seems to be sharing his views. The proposal in Orthodox Church circles is to bring back life to the parish, which at present seems to be greatly neglected and to be losing its legitimate ground. The resurrection of parish life has indeed long been hoped for. The plan for its revival is complete, and is only waiting to be made public. The Holy Synod, as is well known, has presented lately to the Duma a project that was due to the initiative of M. Sabler (now called Desyatovski). For some reason or other this project had been abandoned and withdrawn by its author, to the great dismay of many who are fervently Greek Orthodox. The Metropolitan, Pitirim, is now making every effort to introduce into the Duma also other projects of great importance. In any case, however incomplete or imperfect these projects may be, it is imperative to apply them with as little delay as possible, practical experience being itself

the best<sup>1</sup> leveller of defects. How satisfactorily the reorganization of parishes will revive church life, we shall see. History, with which all who are interested in this question should acquaint themselves, gives ample evidence of how gradually this ecclesiastical arrangement has died out.

The ancient Russian parish was something very different from what is implied by the present meaning of the term. As everybody knows, a modern parish is simply a certain amount of property within the boundaries of a limited distance from a given church. Social life within the parish has of late been diminishing, and the activities of parishioners in parish matters scarcely go beyond the election of a churchwarden, and the payment of his wages. The part allotted to them, in all other matters, is purely passive, and consists principally of paying subscriptions to various brotherhoods and charitable institutions. In other words, if the priest happens to enjoy some authority or popularity among his flock, such institutions flourish by aid of voluntary contributions. In other cases, they exist only on paper, this deception being used because their upkeep is desired by the higher powers, disobedience to whom might have occasionally disagreeable consequences to the parish control.

How different is all this to old-time conditions ! In bygone days, parishioners, in almost all cases, built their own church, and therefore naturally regarded it as their personal property, dependent on their care for its needs and its welfare. Never was there an absentee at elections of churchwardens or other officials. Everyone was personally interested, the whole parish being like a large family, whilst all social and other activities revolved round the church. Close to the church was always a sort of market-place with booths and other such erections, where all the affairs of the neighbourhood were transacted, and where the people collected in gay crowds on festival

days. Here also was a sort of social club, 'where the parishioners discussed the news of the day, and rested after their labours. The people were thus closely linked together, under the protecting shadows of their church. They had their organizations and their enterprises. For instance, they would club together to build homes for beggars and pilgrims, to be received therein and fed and helped on their way. Sometimes also the churchwardens acted as bankers, and advanced money on prescribed conditions, to needy parishioners. In fact, to quote the words of Professor Titlinoff, the parish authorities considered it their duty to look after both the moral and material welfare of their flock. Family quarrels were regarded as a disgrace. Public opinion strictly required of all parishioners regular attendance at confession and communion, with cessation of work on Sundays and church festivals. The parish sometimes also made itself responsible for the education of its children, providing schoolmasters out of the church funds.

On festival days, great feasts were organized, to which all participants subscribed in money and kind. These feasts were enlivened by public games and useful amusements. All this drew the people very closely together into a real, living Church and social organization. Such were our parishes, as long as the system of an elected clergy lasted. But as the electoral system died out, social and independent parish life declined, the parishioners losing all personal interest in their church and its clergy. The church gradually ceased to be the centre of local life, the social club disappeared, the schools ceased to exist. The authority of the church weakened, and all general parish organization was a thing of the past.

Now that attention has been drawn to these facts, real and serious efforts are needed to awaken general interest in the matter. This question of the revival of parish life is very serious and important. In the foundation of parishes lies the seed of future economic victory—for, without a

parish, there can be neither solidarity nor union of interests, nor any means of utilizing to the utmost all the resources of the nation for the benefit of our Church and State.

The Russian Slavophiles were all supporters of the parish and its prerogatives. These always appealed to our ancient history and our traditions, and to see them appreciated at their real value by a man of such high moral and intellectual standing as the Metropolitan, Pitirim, is certainly an event of great importance in the life of our Church, and especially welcome in our times, where there is decidedly a great religious revival throughout the whole of Russia.

Slavophiles always maintained that religion ought to have the upper hand in questions where the temporal power was attempting to interfere. The following is a case in point.

As is well known, the Emperor Nicholas I. was a very energetic man, who liked to have his own way. On one occasion he was strongly in favour of a step of which the Church disapproved. At that time we had as Metropolitan of Petrograd a very superior man, by name Plato. I must add that our Metropolitans have no difficulties in obtaining interviews with the Emperor. The Metropolitan, therefore, after putting on all his decorations, went without hesitation to the Palace, where he arrived in great state in his carriage drawn by four or six horses. "Majesty," he said, in laying all his decorations before the Emperor on the table, "here are all the gifts I have received from you. I will leave my carriage at your gates and return on foot as a poor monk. But I will never sanction the reform you demand."

The projected reform was abandoned. So do we, old-fashioned Slavophiles, always supporting the independence of the Church, now welcome with joy the intention of the Holy Synod and the Metropolitan, Pitirim, to return to the parish system with all its former privileges which have of late years been neglected—indeed, almost forgotten.

In our times, in spite of the difficulties, certain efforts have been made to revive the parish question of ancient days. Thus, for instance, in Kieff, and in the diocese of Kieff, various brotherhoods have been organized which began with starting preaching and organizing schools. And they soon discovered that in the same province there existed already about one hundred associations of the same kind, though in more limited forms. These were exclusively organized by the clergy. Thus, for instance, in the Vassily district alone, there were already over thirty consumer's stores, started by the initiative of one single clergyman. The brilliant result of this initiative in the year 1913 represented already a balance of 200,000 roubles, which helped to open a second-class school, classes where trades were learned and stalls of agricultural instruments. The Brotherhood's Council then organized its own special committee, calling it the Agricultural Committee, whose task it was to "bring help to all ripening agricultural questions and to discuss them in council." Libraries, reading-rooms, moving pictures, choral singing, and sermons on education and other important requirements were thus established. Naturally those grew the most prominent which were already united by faith and prayer.

Naturally brotherhoods of this kind admitted of no division in classes, corporations, or party factions, all being equals in the eyes of the Church. For general parish work there is room for every one; for the cultured land owner, the doctor, the teacher, and for every intelligent man, and also for every intelligent peasant. When an association of this kind bears the character of clericalism, being under the guidance of the Church, it is rooted deeper, and has higher objects, than when it is in private hands, where the interests are often purely egotistical or trivial.

Similar parish reforms ought to be introduced everywhere in Russia, and it is a real blessing that the Metropolitan of Petrograd supports this movement. Had this



been done already, the importance of it would have been realized not only in home policy, but also in questions of international significance. In former days members of such brotherhoods jealously pursued the severe dictates of the ordinances of the Church. It is evident that the chief enlightenment and prosperity of every Christian country lies in the moral conscience of her people in respect to the Church, as the arbiter of Power and Light.

## SALONIKA

BY A MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

IF one could look back to the times of the Peninsular campaign, and ascertain the state of public feeling in this country in the early stages of that protracted struggle—as can be done by turning up the files of any newspaper of that period—it would be found that the genius of Wellington went unrecognized until the advance from Torres Vedras began. The general feeling, among those who knew of the formation and use of the Torres Vedras lines, was that Wellington had indulged in a sullen retirement, and by his inactivity behind the lines practically admitted his inability to advance, and thereby confessed a defeat. Such was the general opinion then, and it finds a parallel in the present position of the Allies at Salonika. No man, in this month of March, mentions Salonika, except as a sort of half-failure on the part of the Allied Powers; it is an unconsidered item in the campaign, viewing the campaign as a whole; it is a waste of men, an entrenched camp that admits of nothing but holding on and holding on, with the possibility of a great Austro-German-Bulgarian attack in the near future, and then possibly the thrusting forth of the Allies from their defences, and the final defeat of the enterprise that began with the tardy attempt to relieve Serbia.

That attempt, by the way, failed by a fraction of time—it was not so ill-judged and so ill-timed as the pessimists would

have us believe. The folly of delay was not military, but political ; it was the political trust in Bulgaria, the political inability to realize that Bulgaria was Ferdinand and nothing else, that damned the Serbian enterprise. Once politicians had retired and military men had come to their work, there was no appreciable delay. The trouble was that, while the Allied politicians were vacillating and hoping for Bulgarian faith in place of treachery, Bulgarian preparations were being pushed forward in the interests of the Central Powers. Thus, when the military came to the chance of action, it was all they could do to neutralize the Bulgarian threat against the Greek frontier, let alone reach through to the Serbian forces and to Nish, which is the key to the railway from Berlin to Constantinople. They did their best ; the Allied forces were within an ace of gaining and holding Uskub—but the politicians had played too long, and the military element had come in too late for this desired end to the Balkan adventure.

Yet, just as in the Peninsular campaign the ports were not altogether abandoned, so the Balkan adventure was not altogether abandoned, but a base was retained which should form a threat against the enemy. If, in the first days of the retention of Salonika, the enemy had struck swiftly and hard, if he had followed up the successes farther north in true German fashion, then Salonika would have been no more than Cape Helles, the grave of an unfortunate enterprise. But difficulties of communication, and lack of the men who might have turned tactical victory into strategic success, hampered the Central Powers, and shifty Ferdinand would not where his allies could not. So, gradually, the port of Salonika was ringed round with defences ; men and guns were put ashore to languish in this flea-bitten town—to what end ?

That is what men are asking when they remember the occupation of Salonika in these days of March. By the time these lines appear in print and April grows old, the answer may be forthcoming, though this is an improbability.

But the general impression is that a large—or comparatively large—Allied force is immobilized at Salonika to no useful purpose, and thus it would be well to examine the value of Salonika to the Allied cause in the present stage of the war.

We cannot do better than keep in mind the parallel of Torres Vedras, although the latter place was a far more useful base than is this of Salonika. In the first place, Torres Vedras bore directly on a phase of the Napoleonic wars which might at any time have become the decisive phase of the whole campaign; it provided a devious, but not less vital, port of entry for an attack on France and on Paris itself, while Salonika can by no means be said to be a means of approach to Berlin. In the second place, railways have become vital to the success of armies in the field, and Salonika provides access to no railways which can supply adequately such forces as shall be of decisive value in the whole campaign. Thus, on the whole, the retention of this port is but a secondary business, *so far as the present combatants are concerned.*

These are the drawbacks to the continuance of such a campaign. But we know, from various sources, that one of the great hopes of Germany, the moving spirit in the war, is that of inducing nations at present neutral to enter into the campaign and provide the Central Powers with accessions of strength in men. There is plenty of mechanical reserve; all that is needed is men to use the guns and rifles that Germany can turn out without end, and this need of men is becoming acute. If by any means Germany could induce the Roumanian half-million to come in to the aid of the Central Powers, the problem of the Eastern campaign would be solved. If permanent Roumanian neutrality could be assured, much would have been done to assist the Austro-German cause. Roumania is the only neutral in the Balkans that counts at the present time, and thus the Central Powers are very anxious to impress Roumania with their power, and with the danger of running counter to their wishes.

But the Allied occupation of Salonika stands as a gibe at the supposed strength of the Central Powers. If it were possible to shift out the Allies, Austro-German statesmen could point to the feat as a final proof of their invulnerability, and their ability to work their will in the Balkans and elsewhere ; as it is, to all their assurances there is the retort—Salonika ! And the retort is unanswerable. An undefended port has been turned into a stronghold, and, more, has been made a menace to the Austro-German domination of Bulgaria and Turkey ; and no Roumanian can foresee the result of that menace, when the weather shall admit of free action in the passes of Southern Serbia and along the valley of the Vardar.

Here in England, untouched by the possibility of invasion, and immune for centuries, we cannot realize to the full the effect of such a threat as is the occupation of this port. It is of little use to tell an Englishman that the occupation of Salonika is a threat against Uskub, against Nish, against Sofia, and against Belgrade, until the threat becomes translated into action. To the average man the occupation of Salonika is a waste of men ; but we may be certain that it is not seen in this light by the directors of the war at Berlin and at Constantinople.

Throughout the winter the single line of rail along the valley of the Vardar—the only way up from Salonika, or, at least, the only practicable way for any important body of troops—is of little use to either group of combatants, but when the weather opens out, and roads as well as railways are available for transport, Salonika will become nearly—never quite—as useful a base as Torres Vedras. It provides the only means of attack on Bulgaria, save the ways open to Russia ; it provides the only means of cutting off Berlin from Constantinople. Whether the attack on Bulgaria is undertaken or no, whether the Berlin-Constantinople line is cut or no, Salonika provides a lasting threat against these two points, and one which must be provided against by Germany as long as the war lasts, or until the

Allies can be driven out from this base. It provides a cancer in the side of the Central Powers, and renders necessary that they should always retain a force to deal with any advance, any threat against Bulgaria or against the line that links them with Turkey. If it immobilizes a certain number of Allied troops, it immobilizes an equal number of enemy troops, and proves to Roumania that German stories of German omnipotence and the danger of favouring Germany's enemies are untrue.

Apart from these considerations, there remains another excellent reason for the retention of Salonika by the Allies. It is more than probable that, when the great reckoning with Germany comes, the embers of the fire that Germany lighted will still smoulder in the Balkans, for the rehabilitation of Serbia, and the portioning out of the territory that has been acquired by Austro-Hungary without regard to racial boundaries, are not likely to be accomplished without trouble. Should that trouble come about, it would be hard to find a more effective threat against possible Balkan malcontents than a strong force at this point. With Russia shepherding Roumania, the occupation of Salonika will keep quiet what is left, if any, of Bulgaria; it will protect Serbia during the process of reconstruction, and ensure Greek quiescence, if that is necessary.

Such forecasts of the settlement that will follow on the war may savour of optimism, in a way, and yet they are fully justified by actual happenings. The very presence of the Allies at Salonika at this time is assurance of the impotence of the enemy in this region, and, whatever may be the tactical result of the Verdun struggle (still in progress at the time of writing), the strategic failure of the enemy in that ghastly combat, and his haste, at any cost of effectives, to force a decision there, is as significant as was the battle of the Marne, and as decisive a factor in the course of the war. This Verdun fight is intended to do what the stroke against Serbia failed to accomplish, but the retention of Salonika—the very presence of the Allies

at that point, apart from any action they may take—is in the nature of a gibe at the enemy attempt to impress neutral Roumania with his power. Salonika and the occupation thereof react on the Verdun combat, just as they react on the main eastern front and on the Caucasus campaign ; the retention of the Greek port is a denial to all Teuton assertions of power, and the threat that it embodies, though it cannot be called decisive, stands as one of the leading factors in the downfall of the enemy.

The enemy threat to the safety of Egypt may be considered practically nullified by the recent events of the Caucasus campaign, but such possibility of enemy attack on Egypt as remains is vitally affected by the occupation of Salonika. The enemy has but the one line of rail from Constantinople through Asia Minor for the transport of troops and supplies to the vicinity of the Suez Canal, and the possession of Salonika and Alexandria give to the Allies the advantage of acting on interior lines against this railway, which for a large part of its course is vulnerable from the sea. By a blow struck, with naval co-operation, from Salonika, any force sent against Egypt by means of this railway could be cut off and starved of munitions and food, if the sending of such a force were still possible for the enemy, which is doubtful now.

Thus it may be said that the Allied occupation of Salonika is no ill-considered gamble, no waste of men, but is a wedge jammed into the mechanism of the enemy's military machine, rendering inutile certain parts of that machine, and thus affecting the working of the whole.

## REDUCTION IN THE BASIC DATES FOR INDIAN VEDIC AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

BY L. A. WADDELL

ALTHOUGH the dictum of Elphinstone in 1839 still holds good, that for India "*no date of a public event can be fixed before the time of Alexander*"—and that date (326 B.C.) was obtained solely from European sources, as no reference to Alexander or his invasion is to be found anywhere in indigenous Indian history—writers on Vedic and Buddhist history confidently assert that the greater part of the Rig Veda was already composed in its present diction before 1200-1500 B.C.; some, such as Jacobi, even extending the date back to 3000-4000 B.C., and that it was finally closed "about 600 B.C." And this opinion, although resting, as we shall find, upon mere conjecture, has by insistent reiteration by all the authoritative Sanskrit scholars for generations come at last to be accepted by Europeans generally as if it were an established fact.

A fresh examination of the evidence on which this fashionable theory rests has shown me that the Vedas are not nearly so old compositions, in their present form, as they are alleged to be, and that Sanskrit is a relatively late Indian language.

The admitted basis for all the various estimates of the age of the Rig Veda, the earliest of all the Vedas, and of the Sanskrit language in which that text is composed, is the date for its "closure," which is universally accepted as about 600 B.C., or "several centuries before 500 B.C." On



this date, all are agreed; and the different estimates for the extent of the Vedic Period backwards beyond 600 B.C. are due to individual differences of opinion amongst different writers as to the length of the period necessary for a nomadic people from "the pastoral steppes north of the Hindu Kush" to become the settled agricultural people found in the Ganges Valley, where the latest hymns of the Rig Veda were certainly composed. A few of the estimates for that interval, such as that of Jacobi and others, are framed on astronomical calculations resting upon some supposed reference to a seasonal change in the months, which, however, is not generally admitted to be a fact.

Now let us see how this basic date of "about 600 B.C." (or, according to others, "several centuries before 500 B.C.") on which these estimates are built, was arrived at. In the words of Professor Macdonell, the leading Sanskrit and Vedic authority in this country, it rests on the assumption that "The lower limit of the second (or post-Rig Veda) stratum of literature—the early commentaries) cannot be placed below 500 B.C.—but several centuries before 500 B.C.—since its latest doctrines are presupposed by Buddhism, and the year of Buddha's death has been calculated, with a high degree of probability, from the recorded dates of the various Buddhist Councils, to be about 480 B.C."\* "For Buddhism presupposes the existence not only of the Vedas themselves, but of the intervening theological and theosophical literature of the Brahmanas and Upanisads. Since that literature is extensive and betrays a considerable development of ideas within its limits, it cannot be assumed to have begun later than about 800 B.C. . . . Hence the age of the Vedic hymns cannot be assumed to begin later than about the thirteenth century B.C.—500 years are amply sufficient to account for the gradual changes, linguistic, religious, social, and political, that this hymn literature reveals."

\* "Sanskrit Literature," in *Imperial Gazetteer India*, 1908, p. 2207.

† *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, 1914, p. 750.

But all this elaborate and ingenious building up of chronological hypotheses, one upon the other like a house of cards, on which Sanskritists have relied for their estimate of the age of the Sanskrit language and the Rig Veda, falls to the ground with the demolishing of their fallacious foundation. I have conclusively proved in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1914 (pp. 661-680, 1037-38) that the basis on which all this chronology of the Sanskritists and Buddhists rests is illusory. I have therein proved, *pace* Professor Rhys Davids and the rest, that *the very earliest book of the Pali Buddhist Canon, which is held to presuppose the existence of the Vedas, and is anterior to the accounts of the councils, and the one book which offered the best criterion of all for historical verification, could not possibly have been composed till after 200 B.C.!* For Buddha is throughout that book already fully deified on a model which, on the infallible testimony of the earliest inscribed monuments of India at Bharhut of 250-200 B.C., was *not developed till after 200 B.C.*

This important book bears the title of "The Great Foremost Being" (*Mahā-Padhāna*—not *Padana* or "The Sublime Story" as Professor Rhys Davids has rendered it in defiance of his texts), and it is the very first book in "The Great Class" (*Mahā-vagga*) of the First Collection (*Nikaya*) of Buddha's reputed "Doctrinal Discourses" or "Word" (*Sutta Pitaka*). It contains a complete epitome of the central tenets of Buddha's doctrine, including the "Causal Nexus" (or what I have called "The Wheel of Life or of Becoming") and the "Buddhist Creed," and several archaisms, all of which lead to the belief that *it was the very first of all the doctrinal books of the Pāli Buddhist Canon to be composed. Yet I found on unassailable evidence that it could not have been composed before 200 B.C.* And this is fully confirmed by an overwhelming amount of other cumulative evidence,\* which corroborates and

\* Compare also my article in this *Review* for January, 1912, on "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult," p. 158.

## SUPPLEMENT

### OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

#### THE DUTCH COLONIES

JAVA. PAST AND PRESENT. By Donald MacLaine Campbell. Two Volumes, large 8vo., pp. xx, 1230. Extensively illustrated with plates and a geological map. (London: Heinemann). 36s. net.

The author, who died in 1913, spent twenty five years in Java, and had the utmost opportunities to become familiar with the history and the life of that island, opportunities of which he was the more able to avail himself fully as he had the liveliest admiration for the Dutch and for the natives. Indeed, since Raffles, few Englishmen, if any, have taken such trouble to study the country. The book, if published by the author himself, would doubtless have been the last word on Java; as it is, a third volume, dealing with the commercial aspects of Java, is still unborn, and its publication later is not certain. Further, although the MS. has been somewhat edited, the work bears signs of incomplete treatment in various sections. At any rate, such is the impression produced when one compares the exhaustive historical section with later chapters. The first volume is devoted almost entirely to the history of Java from prehistoric times up to the present day (450 pages). It also includes a long chapter of 200 pages dealing in detail with the history of the towns in Java and neighbouring islands. Thus far the book, undertaken as a labour of love "mainly with the special object of supplying a long felt want amongst my countrymen in Java, etc.," shows a thoroughness, a completeness which only years of painstaking work could insure, but a few misprints occur: *Prambanan* (p. 4); *auf* for *aus* (p. 9); and several interpretations of Kämpfer's name as Kærupfer (p. 14), Raempfer (p. 87), etc.; *ibu* for *ibn* (p. 94) etc.; a curious mistake, repeated twice (pp. 8 and 879), mentioning the views of "German anthropologists" about *Pithecanthropus erectus*, but not even the name of the Dutch army surgeon, Dubois, who discovered it; another mistake makes of Koxinga a Chinese pirate—

he was, in fact, a Japanese ; *soya* is not a sort of pickle, but a sauce ; *sacki* (p. 211) should be saké.

One hundred and fifty odd pages of Volume II. (chapter xii.) consist of transcripts of accounts of Java by travellers from 1519 to 1832, fifty pages give a sketch of the antiquities, and as the author disclaimed any intention to do more than whet his readers' appetite for more, it would, perhaps, be amiss to complain, but we think that the publishers might with advantage have given fewer portraits of Sultans' sons and brothers, and fewer photographs of modern buildings, but a larger selection of reproductions of archaeological or artistic interest, of the majestic ruins of Boro Budor and of Prambanau, amongst others. The views reproduced are hackneyed, and less well-known illustrations could surely have been obtained by application to the Dutch Government, or to Dr. Groneman ; particularly does this wish apply to the older portion of the lower wall now hidden in the ground. The books in which a fuller treatment of the subject can be found are mentioned in a footnote, but are not readily obtainable. The same may be said of the flora, of which a few striking illustrations—e.g., *Rafflesia*—would have been welcome and fit companions for the fine photographs of volcanoes, of the *Victoria Regia*, of bamboo which grace the book. The editor and the proof-reader are to blame, we presume, for the ludicrous position of the word “fishes,” on p. 882, as heading to paragraph on the grampus whale and the dugong, both mammals . . . and we would ask what is meant by iodine of copper (p. 908), and *springs* of iodine? The melting-point of iodine happens to be 113° Centigrade!! Is there no iron in Java? And what of the Solo aeroliths? But these are small blemishes. There are, unfortunately, others which invite comment. The definition of Buddhism as an idolatrous worship of gods (p. 1007) is on a par with the absurd derivation of the word Joss (p. 1097). Indeed, one must regret that such errors should have been passed by the editor ; they can only have been jottings open to revision, and should have been excised or revised. Whatever have the tenets of the Christian Bible got to do with the Javanese respect for rank, parents, and old age (p. 1027), we fail to see ; we might go so far as to say that there has always been more respect of parents and elder folks in China [and in other countries in which the Bible has been hawked only during the last 300 years] than in so-called Christian countries. But if we indulge in some criticism, it is merely through a feeling of annoyance at seeing glaring errors in a work so monumental and so valuable ; indeed, after reading it from cover to cover—with the exception of “tombstones” and statistics—we are amazed at the industry of the author. Though we would have welcomed some chapters of an ethnographical character, they can be found in specialized publications, and we can but admire the spirit in which the book has been written. As a man interested in commercial pursuits, the author had doubtless little time to spend on research ; as a consular officer, much of his spare time must have been devoted to the promotion of British trade with Java, and how important those duties are now can be best stated in his own words : “There is no doubt that the time has arrived when Great Britain should be represented by a Consul *de carrière* whose standing is not under that of Germany's

representative, and whose whole time can be devoted to the furtherance of British interests, which during the last few years have become more important and considerable in that part of the world, and can no longer be adequately attended to by a trading Consul. . . . Not a single Consul or Vice-Consul has ever received any recognition whatever from the British Crown for his labours, and this during a period of almost a century" (p. 1193). This was written long before the war. The warning comes from the grave. Will it be heeded by the mandarins who should uphold the greatness of their country? Shall we wait and see until the war is over, and the Boche creeps and crawls again within the houses of his rivals? Were the few lines quoted above the sum total of any book they would be valuable; coming as the final and earnest warning of such a gifted and thorough worker as the late author, they should carry immense weight. We trust this work will meet with a large demand, and that it may be found practicable, when (and if) the third volume is published, to facilitate its use as a work of reference by the addition of a *real* index.

H. L. J.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. A History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I. (1300-1403). By Herbert Adams Gibbons, Ph.D. (*Oxford Clarendon Press*). 10s. net.

The learned author of this interesting book tells us in his preface that four years of residence in Constantinople during the most disastrous period of its decline have led him to investigate its origin afresh. In the task he has set before him he hesitates, he says, to tread in the footsteps of acknowledged authorities.

Who were the people, we may well ask ourselves, who assumed the name of Osman, their chief? Did they have any past? And was there any other cause for their amazing growth and success than the mere fact that they had a most fortunate position on the confines of a decaying empire? The author starts with the narrative that Estrogul, the father of Osman, and one of the four sons of Soleiman Shah, settled, with his horsemen, at Sugut, a village given to him by Sultan Alaeddin of Konia, in recognition of the fact that he had put to flight a horde of Tartars attacking him. This chivalrous act is believed to have laid the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

After Estrogul's death, his son Osman, who succeeded him, began to extend the boundaries of Sugut, which had become too narrow for his fast-increasing tribe. And here the author quotes often recounted legends, which give us in a nutshell the history of the great events that were to follow. They run as follows: Osman once passed the night in the house of a pious Moslem. Before he went to sleep, the host entered his room and placed on the shelf a book, of which Osman asked the title. "It is the Koran," he replied. "What is its object?" again asked Osman. "The Koran," his host explained, "is the word of God given to the world through his son Muhammad." Thereupon he left the room. Osman took the book and began to read. He remained standing, and read all night. Towards morning he fell asleep, exhausted. An angel appeared to him,

and said : " Since thou hast read my eternal word with so great respect, thy children and the children of thy children shall be honoured from generation to generation." Now, in Itburnu, a village not far from Sugut, there lived a Moslem sheik who dispensed justice and legal advice to those of his faith in the neighbourhood. He had a beautiful daughter, Malkatun, whose hand was demanded in marriage by Osman. But the sheik, Edebaldi, for a period of two years persisted in refusing his consent to this union. Finally, when sleeping one night in the home of the sheik, Osman had a dream. He saw himself lying besides the sheik. A moon arose out of the breast of Edebaldi, and when it became full descended and hid in his breast. Then from his own loins there began to arise a tree, which, as it grew, became greener and more beautiful, and covered with the shadow of its branches the whole world. Beneath the tree he saw four mountain ranges, the Caucasus, the Atlas, the Taurus, and the Balkans. From the root of the tree issued forth the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Danube, covered with vessels, like the sea. In the valleys everywhere were cities, the golden domes of which were invariably surmounted by a crescent, while the countless minarets sounded forth the call to prayer, that mingled itself with the chattering of the birds upon the branches of the trees. The leaves of the trees began to lengthen out into sword-blades. Then came a wind that pointed the leaves towards the city of Constantinople, which, situated at the junction of two seas and of two continents, seemed like a diamond mounted between two sapphires and two emeralds, and appeared thus to form the precious stone of the ring of a vast dominion which embraced the entire world. When this dream was told to the sheik Edebaldi, he interpreted it as a sign from God that he should give his daughter to Osman, in order to make this dream come true. And here we must mention that through this marriage of Osman to the fair Malkatun the Ottoman Sultans, according to more than one historian, became descendants of the Prophet.

The avowed purpose of Mr. Gibbons' highly meritorious book is to prove that the Ottoman Empire was really founded upon the ruins of the Byzantine Empire as it existed at the time of Osman (1300), and that it first gained its power in the Balkan Peninsula long before it extended its confines into Asia Minor. This is certainly a new standpoint, as until now all the historians seem to have been under the impression, and have asserted accordingly, that it first arose on the ruins of the Seldjuk Dynasty. In a scholarly appendix covering over fifty pages the author tries to prove, and gives facts, that Osman and Orkan carved their State out of the remnants of the Byzantine possessions, such as Brussa, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and other towns along the upper end of the Sea of Marmara. Indeed, Murad I. conquered the Balkan Peninsula whilst he was only one of several rulers in Asia Minor, and not the most powerful one. Until 1386 Karamania, for instance, was, with its capital Konia, a far more powerful emirate under the famous Alaeddins in Asia Minor than that of the Osmanlis. And their independence, after being somewhat broken by Bayezid, Murad's son, was re-established under Timur. Up to the first half of the fifteenth century the Emirs of Karamania residing at Konia

received Ambassadors of other Courts, and kept their independence in the face of both Constantinople and Cairo. Mr. Gibbons draws this information with reference to the *status quo* of Asia Minor during the fourteenth century chiefly from two Moslem travellers; since reliable European sources are lacking, they fill the lacuna by their travel records—*i.e.*, Sheabbedin, the Arabic writer from Damascus, and Ibn-Batutah, whose long-lost manuscript was one of the important finds made by the French at the occupation of Algeria. Their records form the basis of Mr. Gibbons' statements about the emirates of Asia Minor and their duration in the fourteenth century. This interesting history of the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire comes to a rather abrupt end with the reign of Sultan Bayezid, who succeeded Murad on the battlefield of Kossova. He was rightly called Yilderim (the Thunderbolt); for one of his first deeds was to summon his brother Yakub, who had distinguished himself during that battle, and was acclaimed by his soldiers, to have him strangled with a bowstring. Thus the abominable practice of removing possible rival claimants by assassination was first initiated on the bloody field of Kossova, subsequently to be elevated to the dignity of a law by Muhammad II., and destined to survive until the most recent times as a blot on the House of Osman. After the blood-thirst of Kossova had been satisfied, and his father's death avenged, Bayezid did his best to enter into friendly relations with the heir of Lazar, Stephen Bulcowitz. He treated the surviving Serbians with great kindness, and asked for Despina, the daughter of Lazar, in marriage. She was granted to him by Stephen, and he went through a formal marriage with her in the mosque of Alladja-Hissar, some twenty miles from Nish. It is said to have been the last marriage ever contracted by a Sovereign of the House of Osman. With the aid of the Serbians, Bayezid now intended to attack the various emirates of Asia Minor, an expedition which finally led to his downfall; for it was in Asia Minor that subsequently the victorious course of the Ottoman army, then already on the eve of capturing Constantinople, was suddenly interrupted by Timur, the great Mongol chief. In glowing colours the author narrates in his last chapter how the hitherto invincible Bayezid was totally defeated at Angora in 1402. He was made a prisoner, and exposed with his wife to the most abject treatment. He died in captivity after eight months. Thus ended the great Bayezid, son of Murad, the conqueror of Thrace and the Balkan Peninsula. The crowning event of his career was the famous battle of Nicopolis, where he defeated King Sigismund of Hungary, who led the Crusaders. This expedition was one of the greatest events of the close of the Middle Ages, the last great international enterprise of feudal chivalry. The author emphasizes the fact that Bayezid won his battle, not with Saracens, Persians, or Egyptians, as the Crusaders, according to Froissart, thought, but with his Serbian and Thracian warriors, who felt more friendly to the Osmanlis than to the Crusaders who had come to help them. With the meteoric rise of the Osmanlis in Europe, and their sudden downfall in Asia Minor at the Battle of Angora against Timur, this interesting volume ends. But we are given to understand that Mr. Gibbons is contemplating a second volume to follow the present, which

will no doubt equal in its merit and interest his first. It will bring before us the extraordinary revival of the Osmanli race under their great warrior Sultans, the descendants of Bayezid, and the final conquest of Constantinople, that greatest jewel in the Ottoman crown, so eagerly desired by Osman.

L. M. R.

MEMORIES OF A PUBLISHER. By George Haven Putnam, Litt.D.  
(Putnam.) Price \$2.00 net.

No one who reads this work, which is a great addition to the literature of the world, can fail to cherish a kind of acute personal affection for the author and the goodly number of his friends who are made known to them. Whence this almost inexplicable charm? Well, the book is a model of veracity, and that counts for much. As you read, you are impressed with absolute conviction, and you say, "Yes, this is the truth; that event happened thus, and not otherwise." Then, again, his limpid, clear-flowing style forms delightful reading, the criticisms adding piquancy here and there.

With all his love for his fellow-men and all his deep sympathy with modern progress, Mr. Putnam does not lack that literary robustness which only comes to a man made fully conscious that literature is not life itself, but only Life's humble handmaid.

There is something more than ordinary about Mr. Putnam—something that raises him quite out of and above the crowd of human agents, and something that makes him peculiar even among American men of letters. He defies any convenient theory of averages.

Mr. Putnam lives in the world, and knows it as few practical men do, and not only its outer but its inner life, its aesthetic as well as its material side. He lives outside the restricted little world of self, and is interested in the larger, wider life of thought and humanity.

Men like Mr. Putnam do more to knit the divisions of the Anglo-Saxon race into unity than all the treaties that were ever concocted.

There is much of the deepest interest in the stories of his illustrious friends. His first impressions of Lord Kitchener, with whom he crossed the Atlantic in the spring of 1910, "was not entirely favourable. The figure was tall and the bearing erect and soldierly. The head was sturdy and rather bullet shaped, and the forehead was low. There was a slight divergence in the eyes, resulting in a sinister expression which doubtless did injustice to the nature of the man. The general impression given by the face was, however, not only autocratic, but suggestive of a capacity for bad temper. One felt that the General would be a bad man to 'come up against' in a matter of discipline or even of opinion.

"The General gave me one evening the benefit of a talk all to myself on the essential importance and value of war for the development and maintenance of character and manliness in the individual and in the community. He could conceive of no power or factor that could replace war as an influence to preserve man from degeneracy. He did not lose sight of the miseries and the suffering resulting from war, but he believed that



the loss to mankind would be far greater from the 'rotteness' of a long peace."

"Memories of a Publisher" should obtain a very wide circulation and popularity.

OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, Vol. XII. (*Cambridge University Press*.)

"Few scholars are critics," William Savage Landor once complained, but I think he would have allowed "The Cambridge History of English Literature" to be a notable exception in this respect, though one may doubt if he would have extended to Professor Saintsbury—his critic in the volume under review—the well-known invitation: "I shall dine late, but the room will be well lighted and the guests few but select." Professor Saintsbury would be the last man, I am sure, to let this doubt affect his criticism; indeed, he is a critic to whom no one, however fastidious, would say, as he reports a certain writer saying: "You and I ought not to review one another." Incompatibility does not hinder him. He has a genius for appreciation, and, what is more remarkable, the extent of its range is not gained at the cost of loss of critical quality. His voracity and enjoyment remind one of Emerson's picture of the man who has an appetite that could eat the solar system like a cake; and his discernment is as alert and independent in the case of the smallest literary twinkle as in dealing with the bigger stars. His chapter on "Lesser Poets, 1790-1837," is a brilliant survey of a generation of writers subsidiary to Rogers, Moore, and Campbell, the uncertain, almost unconscious groping quality of whose work marks them as belonging to the transition period between Keats and Tennyson. This group, to which belong Beddoes, the author of "Death's Jest Book"; Darley, of whom few people know much beyond his very lovely "Nepenthe"; Sir Henry Taylor, of whose "Philip Van Artevelde" Professor Saintsbury remarks, "It failed on the stage; though if the apparently growing taste for psychological plays were some day to unite itself with a taste for literature, the case might be altered"; Hood; and the sonneteer Thomas Wade.

"All felt strongly the literary influences which helped to determine the work of the greater group before them—the recovery of older (especially Elizabethan) English literature; the discovery of foreign; the subtle revival of imagination that is not confined to 'ideas furnished by the senses'; the extension of interest in natural objects and the like . . . But there is still about them a great deal that is undigested and incomplete; and no one of them has a genius or even a temperament strong enough to wrest and wrench him out of the transition stage. . . ."

"Their struggle does not avail much, but it avails something," Professor Saintsbury says later on, and that something, sifted from much voluminous rubbish and appraised with remarkable critical insight, he has given us in this chapter.

Professor Herford's two chapters on Shelley and Keats are a great addition to critical scholarship—especially the chapter on Shelley. The war—as the editors tell us in their preface—has delayed the appearance

of the volume, but it has not affected Professor Herford's very fine appreciation of the relation between these two poets and their time; nor has it tempted him—as it has too often recently tempted other men of letters—to see that time of struggle with Napoleon in any other than its true light of reaction and disillusionment. The same admirable detachment from the present is kept in Professor Moorman's review of Byron. Of the other chapters in this volume, Professor Howe is quite successful in conveying Hazlitt's "sufficient idiosyncrasy" (to borrow an expression from Professor Saintsbury), and Mr. Harold Child is good on Jane Austen and the lesser novelists. Mr. Elliott's account of the genesis of the four important early reviews of the nineteenth century—*The Edinburgh*, *The Quarterly*, *Blackwood's*, and *The London*—is most interesting. There are, further, chapters on "The Oxford Movement," by the Ven. W. H. Hutton; "The Growth of Liberal Theology," by the Rev. F. S. Hutchinson; "Historians," by Sir A. W. Ward; and "Scholars, Antiquaries, and Bibliographers," by Sir J. E. Sandys. The volume has, too, an excellent bibliography and table of dates, so that it cannot justly be said that its editors have neglected the strict historical side of its work. And as regards the other aspect of history, the sublime art of investigating material in addition to accumulating it, we have every reason to be extremely grateful for the twelfth volume.

I. C. W.

G. K. CHESTERTON. *A Critical Study*. By Julius West. (*Martin Secker*.) Price 7s. 6d.

The tide of Mr. Martin Secker's modern monographs advances relentlessly, and now it is Mr. G. K. Chesterton who rules the waves (or ought we to say is ruled by them?), and is deposited, an intact specimen, at our feet, a pleasant addition to our bookshelf. The worst of these series of critical studies is that they oblige one, willy-nilly, to a complete survey of some writers whom, under ordinary circumstances, one would never dream of taking *entire*, or at least without frequent breaks for outside antidote or relish. I feel like that as regards the subject of Mr. Julius West's brilliant study—G. K. Chesterton.

It is contrary to my appreciation of "G.K.C." to have to take him continuously and seriously, to have to consider him as a whole, and to be forced to compare his tinsel with his real glitter. And when Mr. West comes to the conclusion that Mr. Chesterton is not all he thinks he is, I feel rather annoyed, and inclined, like Patricia in "Magic," to say: "You've taken away, not quite perhaps a fairy tale, but something nearly as amusing."

However, for those to whom not merely the obiter dicta but all the doxies of Mr. Chesterton are not a fairy tale, but a gospel, and doubtless there are people who regard him in this infallible light—Mr. West's study is an excellent tonic. It is understanding, witty, and not over chastising, and if the author is, perhaps, just a little bit too much inclined now and again to "show off" on his own account, we must remember that, after all, he has had to read a lot of Mr. Chesterton!

I. C. W.

## RUSSIAN LITERATURE

DOSTOIEVSKY: HIS LIFE AND LITERARY ACTIVITY. By Eugénii Soloviev, translated by C. J. Hogarth. (*George Allen and Unwin.*) 5s.

This is an interesting sketch of the life of Dostoevsky, showing the bearing of his character and career upon his literary work. Few writers of genius have, as the author points out, struggled so finely in the face of abject poverty, penal servitude, and failing health as this great Russian novelist. Nearly all his work was the outcome of want and the necessity of coping with want, and was written when, plunged to the ears in debt, he was travelling in Siberia or abroad. And yet his talent was so pre-eminently nervous and capricious that even to write an ordinary letter he required inspiration, and he could not survey life and the characters he drew without investing them with the passionate qualities of his own tormented and morbidly introspective nature.

Unlike Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Goncharov, with whom the name of Theodor Mikhailovitch Dostoevsky is usually coupled, who were of the aristocratic class, Dostoevsky belonged to the urban proletariat. His own life and the life of his novels was the sphere of lesser officialdom, of the *intelligensia*. He was born in Moscow in 1821, in a hospital to which his father was a surgeon, and came of the class of the *raznotchintsy*, or plebeians. There was a numerous family, and their childhood was spent in humble, monotonous circumstances, and under a paternal discipline and teaching which "took the form of an invincible conviction that life was so serious, so arduous a matter that it must be approached with arms in one's hands, and that even from childhood mortals must prepare against every possible calamity and privation, while fashioning for themselves a clear idea of duties and obligations." To this teaching much of Dostoevsky's diffident, suspicious distrust of life may be traced. There was in his childhood none of that happy optimism which sees the world as a place of kindly good fortune. At school he led a life isolated from his fellows, and his standing lack of money, and his unconquerable habit of spending it, when he had any, upon trivialities, presented greater and greater difficulties to his impatient nature.

The first novel that brought Dostoevsky the fame and the *milieu* amid a literary circle that his soul desired was "Poor Folk"; it brought him such fame and attention, however, that his sense of triumph overbalanced his painfully sensitive temperament. Ever on the lookout for insults, in a constant mood of resentment lest his work should be belittled, ever anxious to hold the complete attention of those present, he quarrelled with most of his friends and flung all his strength into manifold literary endeavours to achieve greatness at a stroke. But the haste with which he worked rendered any such result impossible, and meanwhile his frame of mind became worse and worse. "I am everything," "I am nothing" -- he swung backwards and forwards between the two poles. Mentally and physically wretched, he became seized with a burning rage against contemporary existence, and his own despair, more than any keen political desires, drew him into the revolutionary movement, which resulted in his

imprisonment and sentence of exile, recorded in the well-known "Letters from a Dead House." It is from this period that a stronger yet more submissive spirit issued. Dostoevsky was forced to concentrate his whole attention upon his inner life and upon a revision of his past.

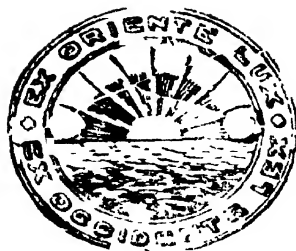
The force of life represented by the prison walls and the impossibility of surmounting them chastened a spirit which had hitherto recognized no obstacle to his personal ambition. The motives of his creed now became repression of self and service for others. Yet when the term of imprisonment was over, Dostoevsky remained as impatient, as rancorous, as hysterical, as self-diffident a mortal as before his exile, and once again entered upon the struggle of writing under the lash of publishers and of necessity and against time. Then followed "Crime and Punishment," "The Idiot," "The Permanent Husband," and "Demons," and finally the most stupendous of his works, "the most marvellous epic of human vileness, aberration, and psychopathy," his present biographer calls it, "The Brothers Karamazov." Dostoevsky's fame was now established, and that torturing distrust of himself relaxed its clutch. During the last years of his life the general recognition of his genius brought him tranquillity of soul and an almost unrivalled position of trust among the Russian *intelligentsia*.

I. C. W.

PERFUMES OF ARABY. By H. F. Jacob. (*Martin Secker*.)

The title and general "get up" of this book suggest something exotic, or at least impressions of that rare and intangible quality for which there is no conveyance but the verb "waft." But this is by no means the case. "Perfumes of Araby" is merely a loose collection of jottings of Arabian manners and customs such as stock the reminiscences of the average European resident in the East who has got over his first huge amusement at finding that "they do things differently abroad," but yet continues to the end viewing these differences more or less in the light of a mild joke, worth investigating *pour passer le temps* and for subsequent "raconteage." Colonel H. F. Jacob has picked up just about as much entertaining information concerning native habits, beliefs, and sayings, in the Aden Hinterland, as would provide an excellent running commentary to a good series of picture postcards. He has the requisite amount of instruction, sentiment, and jocularity, which vastly entertains an after-dinner audience, and makes them all long to go and see that perfectly fascinating Arabia, unless, perchance, its real, live counterpart should be nearer at hand in an Earl's Court Exhibition.

C. I. W.



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

### INDIA

#### THE FAREWELL PARTY TO LORD AND LADY CHELMSFORD

THE Viceroy-Designate and Lady Chelmsford, accompanied by three of their daughters, attended a reception arranged by the National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on March 9, and a large company gathered to meet them. The only formal part of the afternoon was the presentation of the guests to Lord and Lady Chelmsford, after tea there was opportunity for many to have a talk with them. Both took special interest in the Indian students present, and chatted with them on various subjects, including cricket. It was the first time that a Viceroy-Designate paid a visit to the Indian Centre in South Kensington, and the occasion will be remembered with pleasure by all. The large hall was charmingly decorated with oriental draperies, and living India represented practically every part of the country. Among those present were the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., and Lady Cecilia Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Sir Krishna Gupta, Muza Abbas Ali Baig, Syed Ameer Ali and Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mrs. Gupta, Mr. and Mrs. Dubé, Mr. and Mrs. Dhar, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Mr. A. Ezra, Dr. John Pollen, Sir William and Lady Duke, Sir Swinton Jacob, Sir James Dunlop Smith, Sir John and Lady Stanley, Sir Murray and Lady Hammick, Sir Charles and Lady Bayley, Sir John and Lady Muir-Mackenzie, Sir Charles and Lady Lyall, Sir F. and Lady Robertson, Lady Scott, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Colonel and Mrs. Muir, Colonel and Mrs. Hendley, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Emanuel, Bishop and Mrs. Copleston, Sir Henry and Lady Primrose, Sir Horatio and Lady Shephard, Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Buckland, Miss Ashworth, Mr. and Mrs. Bevan, Sir J. and Lady Lambert, the Hon. Miss Kinnaïrd, Mr. S. L. Agarwala, Mr. Ramayya, and many other students and residents from north, south, east, and west of India.

Through the hospitality of Mrs. N. C. Sen, Lady Carmichael, wife of the Governor of Bengal, was entertained at 21, Cromwell Road, last month, and many friends were glad of the opportunity to greet her before her return to India. Lady Carmichael takes a keen and practical interest

in the work of the Calcutta Branch of the National Indian Association, and expressed her gratification in seeing the headquarters in London and in meeting the many British and Indian members, who accepted Mrs. Sen's invitation.

The administration of the Gokhale Memorial Fund is now placed in the hands of the Indian Women's Education Association, of which Lady Muir-Mackenzie is President, Sir William Wedderburn hon. treasurer, Sir Krishna Gupta chairman of committee, and the hon. secretaries are Miss Bonnerjee and Mrs. Haigh. The fund will be used for scholarships for qualified Indian girls, who will come to this country for a teachers' training course. The large and important meetings of Indian women, held in various parts of India, have helped the movement for the extension of educational facilities to women and demonstrated that the impetus comes from India, which, according to his reply to the deputation that waited upon him recently, was what the Secretary of State wished to see.

By request of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal was presented to Professor A. A. Macdonnell, of Oxford, at the rooms of the Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, on March 14. Lord Reay, the President, was to have made the presentation, but was detained in Scotland through illness. Lord Sandhurst took his place. The medal in appreciation of scholarship was founded in memory of Sir James Campbell, whose work for the *Bombay Gazetteer* for twenty-eight years, 1873 to 1901, is known and honoured throughout the Presidency—and beyond. He also wrote on folklore and the early history of India, in addition to rendering valuable public service in many ways, including work in connection with plague measures. Lord Sandhurst acclaimed Professor Macdonnell as the third and a most worthy recipient of the medal, of world-wide repute as a Sanskrit scholar and a foremost authority on the Rig Veda and Vedic literature. In acknowledging the honour conferred upon him the Professor told how, when a student at the University of Göttingen, a copy of Max Müller's lectures on the science of language came into his possession and inspired him with enthusiasm for the study of comparative philology. Under Professor Theodor Benfay, a leading Vedic scholar, his interest in Sanskrit was further stimulated. Since 1899 he has been Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and has carried out his ideas of the duties of a professor—not simply to lecture but to do research work and bring out books that will be of use to students. A long list stands to his credit; the latest, "A Vedic Grammar," has just been published. Professor Macdonnell wishes now to devote himself to an English translation of the Rig Veda; the two German translations are more than forty years old. Lord Reay, in a special message, expressed deep sympathy with Professor Macdonnell in the loss of his son in the war. Lord Reay also advocated the interchange of professors and students of Indian and British Universities to increase the efficiency of all.

## THE NEAR EAST

"The Balkan Peninsula is essentially the meeting-place of East with West," said Mr. H. Charles Woods in his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society on "Communication in the Balkans." It is a land of contrasts—great mountain ranges from which the rivers flow in unexpected directions, bare country reminding the traveller of the South African veldt; well cultivated fields and roads in good repair, in Bulgaria; in Turkey, careless mismanagement, with cattle tramping down the standing corn or crossing the newly-ploughed fallows; and the magnificent land-locked Bocche de Cattaro, "a gem of beauty, the like of which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to surpass in Europe." Mr. Woods emphasized the fact that climatic conditions have a great effect upon communications; routes that are good in the summer become impossible in time of heavy rain and melting snow. Hence the alternative roads used at different seasons of the year, and often leading to mistaken information as to lines of communication for military purposes. The Danube, the second largest river of Europe, is of enormous importance, not only as a thoroughfare for traffic, but as an obstacle to through communication between north and south. No bridges span it for the six hundred miles between Petervárad, a Hungarian town, forty miles north-west of Belgrade, and Cerna Voda, in Rumania. The Rumanians are justly proud of the bridge—a series of viaducts—which they built at Cerna Voda at a cost of £1,400,000. It was opened in 1895, and, with the port of Constanta on the Black Sea, was one of the reasons why Rumania desired to secure a properly defensible frontier south of Dobrogea by the acquisition of the areas she obtained as the result of the two Balkan Wars. Communications between the various Rumanian railways which reach the north bank of the river and Bulgarian railways which reach the opposite bank, near five different towns, is maintained solely by ferry boats, which do not carry trains. The Danube Commission controls the navigation of the river, which is free to all, and has the right to carry out public works. All members and employés are neutral, and in case of war are to be equally respected by belligerents. As to communications in Turkey, Mr. Woods said that neither Sultan Abdul Hamid nor the Young Turks favoured the building of roads and railways, partly owing to internal political reasons, partly to the demands of rival concession hunters. In times of peace a traveller may reach Constantinople in the luxurious Orient Express, but once off the international route, and still within a few days from London, he might be in the heart of an unexplored continent. The result of this inadequate provision for communication has been that the Near East is little known and understood. Mr. Woods gave a detailed account of the main and secondary lines of railway, the most important of which is that which connects Belgrade with Constantinople, and forms the Balkan section of the great trunk route from West to East. He dealt also with the roads from the Adriatic to the interior, from the Aegean, Greece, and Serbia, into Bulgaria, and discussed various plans that have been put forward for extending rail and road communication throughout the Peninsula.

Speeches after the lecture were in the nature of comment upon the geographical features of the Balkans. Lord Bryce waxed enthusiastic over the grand scenery of the Bocche di Cattaro, and gave interesting and amusing personal experiences of his travels in and beyond that region. Sir Edwin Pears pointed out that the present lines of communications follow practically the same as those of ancient times, and the President of the Society, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, suggested that the best way—after the war—to bring about a settlement of the Balkans would be to ask Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons to build hotels and organize tours; the Peninsula would not then remain an unknown land, and intercommunication between the peoples and visitors would make for better knowledge and understanding.

Mr. Freshfield, before the lecture, paid high tribute to the late Sir Clements Markham, whose name has long been associated with the Royal Geographical Society as Secretary and President, and made special reference to his work in and for India—the introduction of the chinchona plant, his history of the Indian Survey, and interest in the Indian navy.

### MIDDLE EAST

The art and literature of Armenia, so little known in this country, have an able exponent in Miss Zabelle Boyajian, herself an artist of repute, a writer, and a devoted lover of her country. In a lecture given recently to the Women's Freedom League, over which the Hon. Mrs. Forbes presided, Miss Boyajian spoke of the high degree of chivalry and poetic imagination shown in the ancient Armenian legends and fragments of poems which have survived from far distant ages; from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance of Armenian literature at the beginning of the last century, the poetic flame was kept alive by Church dignitaries and wandering minstrels. Very interesting examples were given, and, dealing with modern writers, Miss Boyajian quoted from the works of Raffi, idealist, novelist, and patriot. She spoke also of the writings of women who have dealt with the Woman's Movement, which now touches practically all countries, and the experiences of industrial workers, especially in the mines and factories. A book of English translations from Armenian literature, admirably illustrated with characteristic paintings which, influenced by Persian and by Byzantine art, are of noteworthy interest, will be published in the near future by Messrs. Dent, London.

Mr. Edgar T. A. Wigram, in his lecture to the Central Asian Society on March 15, describing the "Ashiret Highlands of Hakkiari" in Mesopotamia, supported the tradition which places the Garden of Eden on the Armenian plateau about the regions now occupied by the villayets of Van, Erzeroum, and Bitlis. The Zab is the river of Eden, identified with the Pison. "The theory," he observed, "has the merit of giving a satisfactory answer to the vexed question why no Eden exists now.



All the original face of the ground now lies buried hundreds of feet deep beneath the ashes and lava flowing from five huge quiescent volcanoes ; when these were in full activity they must have been very fitting representatives of Cherubim with flaming swords." The Zab gorge, he added, in spite of its narrowness, is one of the main avenues of traffic in these regions, and if ever a railway is constructed to link Mesopotamia with Armenia, it will have to be along the line of the river. He considered that the Russians at Bitlis would "not find it easy to get into touch with the British on the Tigris above Mosul."

## RUSSIA

"The Intercourse between Russia and China after the time of Peter the Great" was the subject of Mr. J. Dyer Ball's lecture to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society at the March meeting. This period, it was pointed out, was one of the most important in the whole cycle of inter-communication between the two great Empires. The memorable embassy of Sava Vladislavitch, sent to Peking in the reign of Catherine the Great, was described at length, with details of its equipment, its expenses, and its presents to the Chinese Court. China feared the Russian advance in Asia, commercial as well as political ; Russia declared that her desire was to improve the administration of her new territories. There were long negotiations, and the dissension and jealousy among the Chinese appointed for the delimitation of the frontier greatly assisted the Russians. An amusing incident was told of the smuggling across the frontier of a Bishop as an archimandrite, as it was reported that the Chinese were frightened by the imposing title of Bishop. The most important results of the Treaty of Kiakhta were the dispatch of a trading expedition from Russia to China every three years, and the establishment at Peking of an ecclesiastical mission which, among other activities, produced valuable works on Chinese subjects. The Russian Ambassador, said the lecturer, was instructed at that time to make enquiries as to the military resources of the Chinese Empire, and the result was a carefully prepared report on the possibilities of a Russian conquest of China. Such a conquest was declared feasible owing to the unmilitary spirit of the Chinese and their dislike of their Manchu rulers.

A Russian exhibition, small, and organized under serious difficulty in the matter of transport, attracted considerable attention in London last month. Realistic pictorial scenes of life in Russia in peace and war were among the principal attractions, also lace and embroidery made by peasants, wood carving, toys, and fancy articles. The Russian trenches and dug-outs, fitted with periscopes and other military apparatus, and a giant Russian aeroplane brought the reality of war before the eyes of visitors. Mr. Walter Winans, who gave great practical help, opened the exhibition.

The Speaker of the House of Commons presided at the meeting of the Russia Society on March 17, and M. de Wessilitsky, London correspondent of the *Novoe Vremya*, lectured on "The German Peril and the Grand Alliance." He outlined certain conditions of peace with regard to territory. Territory east of the Elbe, with the Prussian provinces, Saxony and Mecklenburg, which have small Slav populations, he said, should be placed at the disposal of the Allies in exchange for the German provinces of Austria which might wish to join Germany; an International Commission to administer them; further suggestions were the suppression of serfdom, religious services in the Slavonian and Lithuanian languages, freedom to open Slav, Polish, and Lithuanian schools, self-government, universal suffrage, and land for peasants who needed it.

A. A. S.

## THE KING-EMPEROR AND THE CONVALESCENT INDIAN SOLDIERS

THE departure of the convalescent Indian soldiers from this country was marked by a pleasing and significant incident. A loyal address was presented to His Majesty the King-Emperor at Buckingham Palace by twenty-six Indian officers from the Convalescent Home at Barton, Hampshire. His Majesty was accompanied by the Queen-Empress; the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Household in Waiting were in attendance. The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, General Sir Charles Egerton, General Sir Edmund Barrow, Colonel Sir Walter Lawrence, and Colonel Sir James Dunlop Smith, were also present. The Indian officers were presented to their Majesties by Colonel J. Chaytor White, I.M.S., Commandant of the Convalescent Home at Barton.

Subadar Sher Singh, 34th Sikh Pioneers, on behalf of the Indian officers, read the address, to which His Majesty was graciously pleased to read a reply.

## OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been graciously pleased to make the following appointment to the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India: To be G.C.S.I.—General Sir Edmund George Barrow, G.C.B., Secretary in the Military Department, India Office.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Babington Bennett Newbould, Indian Civil Service, to be a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in succession to Mr. Justice Holmwood, who is about to retire from the Bench.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Ewart Greaves to be a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in succession to Mr. Justice Hassan Imam, who has resigned his seat on the Bench.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Mr. William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service to be a Member of the Council of India, in succession to Sir Steyning Edgerley, whose term of office will shortly expire.

The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, entertained on February 24 at dinner, at

Claridge's Hotel, the Viceroy Designate of India, Lord Chelmsford. There were present : The Prime Minister and Members of the Cabinet, the Vice-President and Members of the Council of India and representatives of the India Office, and the High Commissioners for the Oversea Dominions.

The following were also present : His Highness the Raja of Ratlam, His Highness the Aga Khan, Lord Inchcape, Lord Stamfordham, Sir George Barnes, General Sir John Nixon, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir K. G. Gupta, Sir Ali Imam, the Raj Kumar Sirdar Singh of Shapura, and Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P.

The Secretary of State for India has recently had under consideration proposals made to him by the Government of India for accelerating the promotion of officers of the Indian Army by the grant of temporary rank, with the object of preventing their wholesale supersession by regimental officers of the British Army owing to the exceptional circumstances of the present time.

With the concurrence of the Army Council, he now sanctions the following measures :

*1. Temporary Promotion with Pay of Rank.*

In Indian Army units serving in the Expeditionary Forces overseas, one temporary step of rank with pay of such higher rank in addition to any available Staff Pay is granted to any officer below the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel who has acted for a complete thirty days or more in a regimental vacancy for Commandant, when the vacancy is the result of active service ; similarly, one step of rank with pay to any officer below the rank of Major who has acted as Second in Command, and one step of rank with pay to any officer below the rank of Captain who has similarly acted as Squadron or Double Company Commander.

*2. Temporary Promotion without Pay of Rank.*

All officers of the Indian Army recommended as fit for promotion will be granted the temporary rank of Captain and Major respectively after six and sixteen years' service, with retrospective effect from September 1, 1915. This rank is to be held till absorbed by subsequent promotion; it will not carry any increase of pay, but will qualify during the war for the rate of wound, injury, or family pension and gratuity appropriate to the higher rank, if the claim to such pension arises out of the war.

*Note.*—Under the ordinary system established in the Indian Army promotion depends, subject to fitness in each case, on the length of commissioned service in accordance with the following scale :

Captain after nine years' service ;

Major after eighteen years' service ;

Lieutenant-Colonel after twenty-six years' service, unless previously promoted on appointment to regimental command or other appointment of equivalent status.

These promotions are irrespective of the occurrence of vacancies in the next higher rank. This system, by securing regular promotion, is greatly to the advantage of officers of the Indian Army in normal times.

In the British Army, on the other hand, promotion depends on the occurrence of vacancies in the regimental cadres.

It follows that in times of peace the Indian Army officers enjoy, as regards promotion from rank to rank, the advantage of freedom from blocks in promotion, whilst in a great war like the present the advantage as regards promotion in rank is favoured by the regimental system of the British Army. The difference of system does not, however, in war time place officers of the Indian Army at any great disadvantage, generally speaking, in respect of pay, when compared with the British Army, because the emoluments

of the former do not depend only on their rank, as regulated by the time-scale, but also on their regimental or staff appointments, which with the pay of their rank makes their total emoluments generally higher than that of corresponding ranks in the British Army. But the rapidity of promotion in the British Army caused by the war is detrimental to the officers of the Indian Army, as it involves supersession by their juniors to an undesirable extent. The concessions of temporary rank described above are in the direction of adjusting this disproportion.

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The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. George Seymour Curtis, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, in succession to Mr. W. D. Sheppard, on the latter's appointment to be a member of the Council of India.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, and Mr. George Carmichael, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, in succession to Mr. C. H. A. Hill, appointed a Member of the Governor-General's Council, and Sir Richard A. Lamb, who will shortly vacate his seat on the expiration of his term of office.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Sir Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E., to be a Member of the Council of India, in succession to Sir Felix Schuster, whose term of office will shortly expire.

## LONDON THEATRES

*New Theatre.*—“ Caroline,” by W. Somerset Maugham.

The author of “ Lady Frederick ” has presented us with a new “ Light Comedy ” of the form and composition we have grown accustomed to expect and enjoy from him. Caroline Ashley, the wife of one in distant Nairobi, addicted to adenoids and brandy, unloving and unloved, finds consolation in the ideal companionship of Robert Oldham, a successful barrister—a companionship, by the way, which is known and approved of by everybody, because it is entirely above board. For ten years this unwedded bliss continues, only to be rudely shaken by the news of the death of the husband.

The sudden removal of this bar was awkward enough: but matters were made worse by her two match-making friends (?) Isabella Trench and Maude Fulton, who, unsnubbed because unsnubbable, adorn her parlour with their unfailing presence in their eagerness to be on the spot when, as they thought, the companionship was to be consummated with an engagement. This solution is quite put out of court by Robert’s half-hearted and unconvincing proposal, and a similar fate awaits her other admirer, Rex—for he, too, prefers to prolong his agony. Her two lady friends give her no peace. Something must be done, so she hits on Dr. Cornish, her physician, who informs her that her malady is middle-age, and on whom she turns the tables by insisting on his marrying her. What is more, this dramatic turn is to be announced *sur le champ* to all parties. And sure enough they all assemble to hear the great news: “Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant.” Dr. Cornish, diplomat, announces: “Caroline’s husband is not dead; on the contrary, he has walked out of this room five minutes ago!”

All dumbfounded, not least Caroline herself. But she sees at once that the medico’s solution is even better.

All accept this gorgeous explanation—and her two lovers sink back to bask luxuriously in the lap of unrequited passion, from which stern reality had dragged them:

And thus fare they who drift irresolutely on life’s stream. All the characters were admirably interpreted. Miss Irene Vanbrugh was Caroline; Mesdames Lillah McCarthy and Nina Sevens her two lady friends; Messrs. Leonard Boyne and Martin Lewis her male admirers. Mr. Dion Boucicault as the doctor was particularly effective.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

NOVEMBER 15, 1916

## RUMANIA AND THE DANUBE

BY H. CHARLES WOODS

THE whole present position of Rumania, and the attitude of that country towards the war, depends largely upon various historical and diplomatic events which have taken place during the last few years. The country of King Ferdinand, the largest in and immediately connected with the Balkan Peninsula, is made up of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were formerly united in December, 1861. Although her final independence of Turkish suzerainty was recognized by the Treaty of Berlin, Rumania never played any serious rôle in Balkan affairs until 1910, when she was supposed to have entered into some kind of treaty arrangement with Turkey concerning her attitude in case of a war in the Near East. However this may be, and whatever that arrangement may have been, the army of King Carol did not take the field during the first Balkan War, and Rumania contented herself by obtaining compensation from Bulgaria. This compensation, which took the form of important rectifications on the southern frontier of the Dobrudja, and which included the cession of the town of Silistria by Bulgaria to Rumania, was agreed upon by the Protocol of Petrograd, signed by those two countries early in May, 1913.

Both from a larger European as well as from a local point of view, one of the most important results of the



second Balkan War was the new rôle entered upon by Rumania—a rôle which ever since has made the position of that country one of considerable significance in Europe. In addition to the fact that her action in invading Bulgaria was largely responsible for the result of the second Balkan War, the Government of the late King Carol was undoubtedly one of the prime movers in the so-called settlement arrived at by the Treaty of Bucharest, signed on July 25, 1913. Owing to the success of that country, and to the attitude taken up in connection with and towards it by Russia, there is no doubt that the hands of the Russo-phile party in Rumania were considerably strengthened. This, coupled with the increasing friendship of Rumania for France, is largely responsible for the good understanding which gradually grew up between the former country and the Triple Entente—a good understanding which finally persuaded King Ferdinand, who was born a Hohenzollern, to throw off the Germanic yoke and enter the arena of war on the side of Liberalism, of justice, and of humanity.

From a purely internal point of view the second Balkan War meant that Rumania was increased in size from an area of just over 50,700 square miles to one of just under 53,500 square miles, and that her population of just over 7,230,000 souls was added to by about 280,000 inhabitants. This addition of territory gave to Rumania even more than that rectification of her Dobrudja frontier that she had wanted ever since the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, and secured to her a boundary which it was hoped that she would be able to defend against any advance from the south. Geographically, politically, and militarily this change so increased the size and the population of the Rumanian Dobrudja that, together with the development of the port of Constantza, the disadvantages of the possession of an area largely populated by Turks, Bulgars, Tartars, Jews, and other aliens might well have been counterbalanced had the outbreak of the European War not occurred before

Rumania had had time to reap the advantage of her new possessions.

I will now ask my readers to visualize the head and horns of a Highland bullock. Let us picture that bullock as turned towards the Black Sea with his head raised well towards the sky. There you have the shape of Rumania. The forehead of the creature is the Dobrudja, the northern or left horn is Moldavia, and the southern or right horn is Wallachia. The upper edge of these horns is formed by the Carpathians and by the Transylvanian Alps, the frontier running along the crest of these two ridges. The east or underneath part of the northern horn is the River Pruth, and the Kilia branch of the Danube is the northern or left edge of the forehead. The south or outer edge of the southern horn is formed by the River Danube, and the new frontier, running from near Turtukai on that river to the Black Sea, makes the southern extremity of the forehead.

Partly owing to this unique geographical position, for the most part on the north of the Danube, and, so to speak, wedged in between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Rumania forms a sort of link between East and West. Geographically it is usual to consider the country as situated without and to the north of the Balkan Peninsula, and for the above-mentioned reasons her interests may be called semi-Balkan and semi-international. As far as the first of these is concerned, the most important thing is that nothing should take place which would in any way threaten the general interests of Rumania, or so strengthen the position of her Balkan neighbours as to affect those interests. It is largely for these reasons that after the outbreak of the European War Rumania was compelled to adopt a waiting policy, and to take every precaution, in the hope of preventing Bulgaria from reoccupying the country which, as I have already said, changed hands after the Balkan Wars.

From an international point of view the foreign policy of Rumania has been, and is, bound up with the fact that

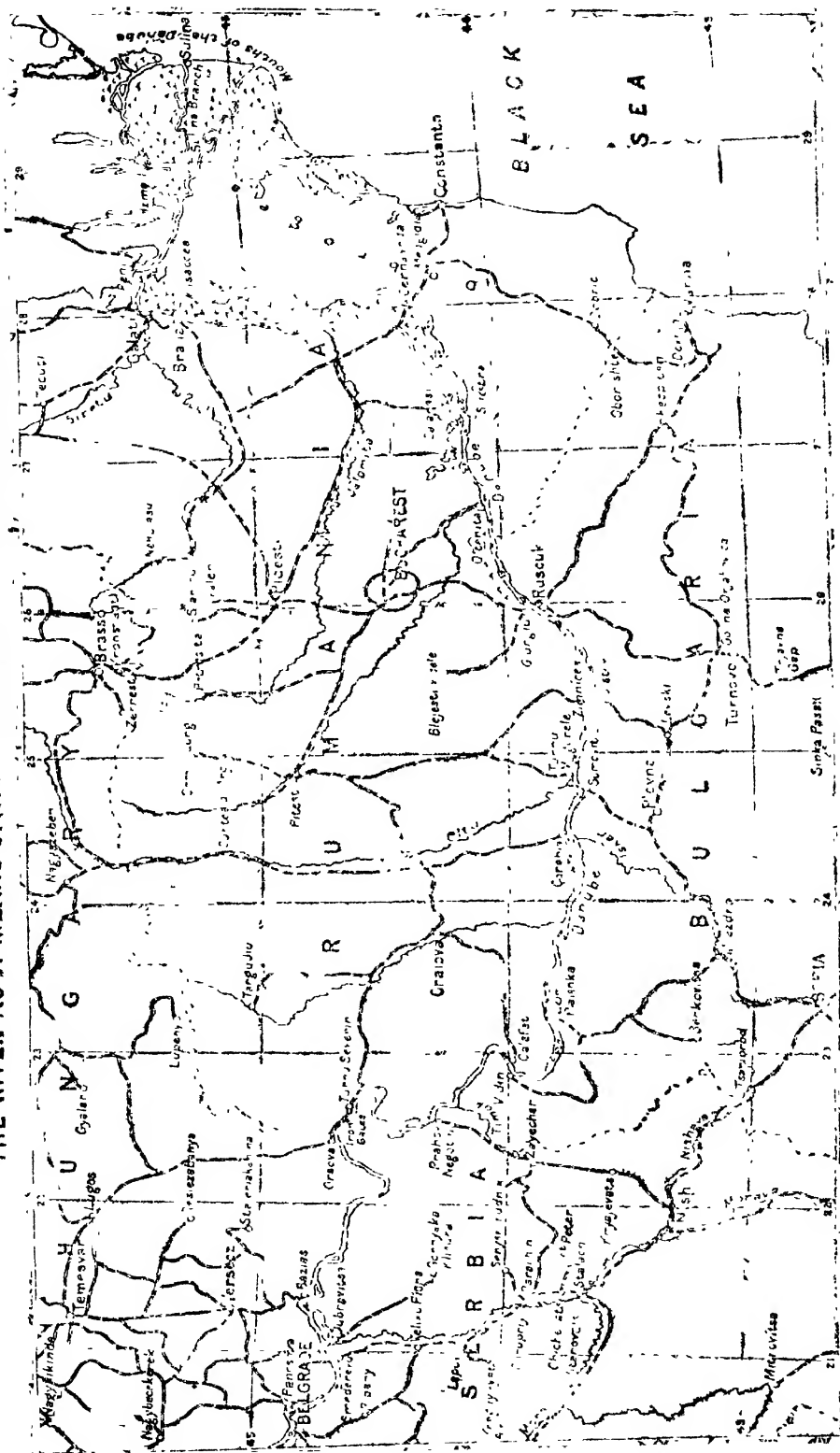
it is practically necessary for her to maintain good relations either with the Central Powers or with Russia, and that it was, and is, obviously desirable that her friends should be those destined to be the victors in the war. This is the case, partly because single-handed she was not in a position to go to war with a great Power, and partly because large numbers of Rumanians are domiciled in the Dual Monarchy and in Russia.

In Austria-Hungary there are reckoned to be nearly 4,000,000 Rumanians, the larger number of which live in Transylvania. On the other hand, about 800,000 Rumanians have their homes in Bessarabia, part of which was re-annexed by Russia after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. The real key to the situation, therefore, lies in the fact that the Rumanian Government has been, and is, compelled to adopt a far-seeing policy, destined, if possible to secure to it at least the ultimate possession of the above-mentioned Austria-Hungarian districts in which so many Rumanians are domiciled.

The geographical situation of Rumania makes her position of enormous significance in connection with the Danube. As I have already explained, that river, forming as it does the greater part of the southern frontier of Rumania, separates that country from the Balkan States by a natural barrier, the width of which is in many places much greater than that of either the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles.

Ignoring for the moment the international arrangements connected with the Danube—arrangements which may be interpreted in one way by lawyers and in another by belligerent states—this means that so long as Rumania was neutral, or so long as she is able to hold Wallachia, she holds the key, or at least the great part of the key, to an international highway of all-predominating importance. In order to understand the immense significance of that key, and the reasons for which the enemy are leaving no stone unturned to fight their way down to the northern bank of

THE LOWER DANUBE  
THE RIVER AS A MEANS OF, AND OBSTACLE TO, COMMUNICATION



Scale 1:100,000

Scale 1:100,000 or 1:100,000

Scale 1:100,000 or 1:100,000

the Danube from the Transylvanian Alps and to push their way up to the southern bank of the Danube below Galatz, it may be interesting to reproduce here a few details connected with that river.

At Belgrade, located as it is about 110 miles to the west of Orsova and the Iron Gates, the river is nearly one mile wide, and with certain exceptions its general width between Vienna and the Iron Gates is from 650 to 2,000 yards, a low river. From the Iron Gates, where the channel is only about 80 yards broad, the river widens out, and throughout its course to Braila its average breadth when the water is low is about half a mile. Above Turnu Severin barges and special river steamers, drawing up to 5 or 6 feet of water, are able to navigate the river at practically all times, except when it is stopped by the presence of ice. Between Turnu Severin and Braila there are about 12 feet of water, and between the latter place and the Black Sea, which section is under the Danubian Commission, a minimum depth of about 18 feet is maintained.

The above details are sufficient to prove the strategic significance of the Danube not only as a thoroughfare for traffic, but also as an obstacle to through communications between the north and south. No permanent bridges span the river between Pétervárad—a Hungarian town situated about forty miles north-west of Belgrade—and Cerno Voda in Rumania—that is, for a distance of nearly 600 miles. Thus, whilst eight more or less independent Rumanian railways run down to the northern bank of the Danube at seven different places, and whilst six Bulgarian lines approach its southern bank near five different towns, connection between these Bulgarian and Rumanian termini, which are for the most part situated almost opposite one another, is maintained solely by ferry-boats, which do not carry trains. Indeed, the only route by which the railway systems of the two countries are actually united is by way of a new line through the Dobrudja—a line which connects

Dobric with Midgidia on the Constantza-Bucharest railway, and a line which obviously proved of the most enormous importance and assistance to Mackensen's forces during their advance upon and to the north of Constantza.

The great Cerno Voda bridge is on the main line from Bucharest to Constantza, and therefore upon the route which in peace time is followed by the Oriental Express upon certain days in the week. Here a great viaduct—or more correctly a series of viaducts—cross the river and the low ground and marshes which border upon it. In addition to the supplemental sections, which have a length of nearly two miles, the bridge over the main bed of the river was not only more than 800 yards long, but the roadway was over 100 feet above the level of the water. Built by Rumanian engineers, at a cost of £1,400,000, and opened in September, 1893, this bridge constituted a possession of which the Rumanians might be justly proud. Indeed, its existence, as also that of the port of Constantza, which is now one of the most important on the Black Sea, was the cause for which the Rumanians desired to secure a properly defensive frontier on the south of the Dobrudja—a defensive frontier which, unfortunately, they have been unable to hold.

Personally I think ever since the enemy has realized that he could not bully Rumania into siding with him, and particularly since the entry of that country into the war, that Germany has had for one of her primary objects the occupation of both banks of the Danube. By the subjugation of Serbia, and by the co-operation of Bulgaria, the Central Powers secured full power over the southern bank of that river as far as a point situated a few miles to the east of Ruscuk. But even this did not give them that free use of the river which is so important both from a military and a strategical point of view. Moreover, so long as Rumania or Russia held both banks below the above-mentioned point, Germany was not able to utilize the Danube as a through means of communication between

Central Europe and the Black Sea. It is therefore largely with the object of trying to realize this advantage that the enemy is now endeavouring to push forward into Rumania from the north and west and through the Dobrudja, and therefore up to the mouths of the river from the south. The accomplishment of that object would not only give him a great alternative route to the main line between Belgrade and Constantinople, but it would also provide him with absolutely safe access to the numerous Bulgarian railways which lead up to the southern bank of the river.

The enemy has always prepared the way for his military action by the creation of a favourable diplomatic situation. Thus, when it became clear that the Allied attempts to secure the co-operation of Bulgaria last year had failed, the whole position in the Balkans, and particularly the situation of Rumania, became extremely complicated. The arrival at an understanding with Bulgaria would probably have meant the augmentation of the Allied armies by at least 1,200,000 men; 400,000 Bulgarians would have advanced into Turkey, and thus ended the Dardanelles' campaign in an Allied victory; 300,000 Greeks would have been available to take part in some campaign; 500,000 Rumanians would have been free to cross the Austrian frontier. As a result of the loss of Bulgaria, we not only at once became faced by a large Bulgarian army near Salonika, but the Rumanians, instead of being able to maintain a united front on the north and west, immediately became destined to be compelled to detach a considerable force for the defence of the Dobrudja.

This has placed upon Rumania a burden which she was not and could not well be in a position to bear. Her western and northern frontier may be protected by the Carpathians and by the Transylvanian Alps, but the length of that frontier is none the less about 400 miles. The defence of such a frontier, and of such a line of mountains, possessed as they are of numerous passes, must of necessity

occupy a force of very considerable size. Moreover, the movements of the Rumanian army, which has been in course of reorganization during the last few years, are hampered by the fact that the railway system of that country is much less complete and adequate than that possessed by the Germanic enemy. In spite of these and other disadvantages, now that the first onslaught has been so bravely met, it is to be hoped that our Russian ally, who has never failed in the hour of need, will be able to furnish the necessary reinforcements, and thus to come to the support of a country whose entry into the war, under very unfavourable conditions, certainly entitles her to expect that her great neighbour will leave no stone unturned to rush to her assistance in her hour of need.



## ORIENTAL LIGHT CAVALRY

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YAM

Two thousand five hundred years have passed away since the prophet Habakkuk, his brain bursting with words inspired by the Divine afflatus and by inborn poetic fire, drew this graphic picture of the Chaldean cavalry of his day: "Their horses also are swifter than leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves; and their horsemen spread themselves: yea, their horsemen come from far; they fly as an eagle that hasteth to devour." The vision of the Jewish seer and poet is prosaically reproduced in the language of the Gentile journals<sup>a</sup> of 1916: "The mobility of the Arab cavalry, who ride light and are unsparing of their horses, is something outside experience. They are always hovering on our flanks, ready to take advantage of any accident or confusion by the way, and they follow like jackals in our rear." When Nabuchodonosor, King of Assyria, sent the chief captain of his army, Holofernes, against all the west country, a mission which cost the captain his head at the hands of Judith, Holofernes took with him "twelve thousand archers on horseback." We infer that the light cavalry of the Assyrian and the Chaldean or Babylonian were but the precursors of the famous Parthian *cheval-légers* whom the Romans found to be such formidable foes. Canon Rawlinson, in his History of the Second of the Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, describes very clearly the seat and equipment of the early

\* Mr. Edmund Candler.

Assyrian light horseman. He rides without saddle and stirrups; his chief weapon is the bow, though sword and shield are also carried; he has a mounted attendant who holds and guides his horse while he shoots; the archer's legs and feet are bare, and he sits his horse with the seat of a Tod Sloan, gripping the wither or the base of the neck between his knees. At a later period a pad or saddle-cloth is used by way of saddle, and the horse is so trained that the rider can shoot from its back at a stand or in motion, as he may wish. The Persians followed in the footsteps of their forerunners in the monarchy of the Middle East. Even to this day the Persians, like the Cossacks, are famous for their feats on horseback.\* Just a century ago, a member of General Gardane's Embassy from France to the Court of Persia records that the chief strength of the Shah's army consisted in cavalry, which might be estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000 strong, and are divided into four great divisions, which, in their nomenclature, recall (I may add) the seven "Langues" of the Knights Hospitallers. The four divisions are known as (1) Turk zabān, (2) Kurd zabān, (3) Arab zabān, and (4) Fer zabān. Zabān means *langue*, or language. The writer, M. Tancoigne, adds: "Were it not for the pistol and carbine which some of them add to their otherwise antique equipment, they might still be mistaken for the Persians of the time of Xerxes and Darius. They are excellent for turning the flanks of an army, and in skirmishing."

When we turn to writers such as Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus† for some description of the mounted troops with which the earlier known Egyptian monarchs and the Kings of Persia carried out their extensive invasions and conquests,

\* Curzon, "Persia," vol. 1, chap. xvii.

† Barnabé Brisson, a prominent legal and political personage in France in the reign of Henri III, collected, in his treatise entitled "De Regio Persarum Principatu" (1st edit., Paris, 1501, pp. 255-59 and 373-382), the tributes of Greek and Roman writers, from Herodotus to Herodian and even later, to the training and skill of the Persian as horseman and archer, and also "La Cavalerie des Anciens et la Cavalerie d'aujourd'hui," Paris, n.d. (circa 1825).

we find nothing definite about cavalry tactics. Numbers are given us—80,000 and so on—but more interesting than mere numbers is the statement that the Arabs were mounted, not on horses, but on camels as swift as horses. Most visitors to India are familiar with the magnificent *sandhis* of Jaisalmir and Bikanir. The Bikanir Camel Corps has already made its mark among the Imperial forces of the Crown.

When we turn to Xenophon, whose magnificent march to the Euxine, as one of the commanders of the immortal Ten Thousand, took place quite eighty years later than Xerxes' abortively offensive immigration of millions across the Hellespont, we find graphically described the treacherous approach, as the column was moving off from its camp, of Mithridates with his 200 troopers and 400 bowmen and slingers.\* Suddenly horse and foot alike opened fire, and inflicted serious loss on the Greek rearguard, which was powerless to reply. In vain Xenophon, with a detachment of hoplites and peltasts, endeavoured to come to close quarters with them. The Persian horsemen kept up a discharge of arrows as they fell back before them, and the further the Greeks pursued, the further they had to fight their way back again. These Persian tactics on a plain are the precise counterpart of Pathan tactics in the Yaghistan of the North-West Frontier of India, the Persian being mounted and the Pathan on foot. And all that poor Xenophon got for doing his best under the circumstances was to be told by his elders that he had better have done nothing. "However," said Xenophon, "we have at least learnt a lesson; let us profit by it. Rhodian bullets are more than a match for Persian pebbles, and the pick of our transport animals will make capital cavalry remounts."† Within

\* Xenophon, "Anabasis," ii 3.

† Xenophon, "Anabasis," iii 3. The late General Sir John Luther Vaughan, whose distinguished services have been perpetuated in the nomenclature of the "58th Vaughan's Rifles" (a regiment which fought most gallantly in the trenches in North-West France), and who in August, 1880, accompanied, as special correspondent of *The Times*, Sir Frederick Roberts's march from Kabul to Kandahar, read in March, 1874, before the Royal United Service Institution, a paper entitled "The Retreat of

twenty-four hours a corps of 200 slingsmen and 50 horse was organized. This promptitude of action was the essence of that spirit which brought the Greeks safe through the very country in which British and Russian armies are now operating. The country lying between Ctesiphon on the Tigris, where a year ago General Townshend fought a stern battle against superior numbers, and Erzerum, near the source of the Araxes, which has fallen before the Russian army of the Caucasus, is the very scene of the memorable march, to the success and eternal fame of which Xenophon so signally contributed. The port on the Euxine from which the "Ten Thousand" took ship—Kotvora—is close to Trebizond, which has also now passed into Russian hands.

Three hundred and fifty years later, a Roman army challenged the Parthians, the then dominant race on the upper waters of the Euphrates and Tigris, and past-masters in the tactics which for centuries had distinguished the Mesopotamian light cavalry. If Mithridates harried the "Ten Thousand" with 200 horsemen, the General of Orodes met Crassus with two hundred times that number, or more—men who never closed with but unceasingly galled their enemy. These were backed up by a heavy cavalry armed with long pikes or spears and formed in a serried line which could carry all before them in a charge, or stand firm against a charge made upon them.\* When Virgil (Georg. iv., 313-14) would find a

the Ten Thousand, a Military Study for all Time." He reproduces Xenophon's experience in these words: "Xenophon brought up the rear with a rear-guard composed of hoplites and peltasts, and a detachment of Cretan archers and javelin-men. The rear-guard was harassed during the whole of this march by a body of Persian cavalry and light troops. The Greek light troops, overpowered by numbers, were driven in. . . . The Greek commanders devoted the night which followed to organizing a small body of fifty cavalry to replace the horsemen who had deserted after the battle, mounting them upon the *spare horses belonging to the murdered Generals and other officers*. They also induced some 200 Rhodians to form themselves into a body of volunteer slingers."

I think it necessary to say specifically that Xenophon mentions solely "*captured horses used for transport*." It is possible that General Vaughan borrowed his words from some loose translator or imaginative historian.

\* Rawlinson, "Sixth Monarchy," pp. 160-61 *et seq.*

simile for a dense swarm of bees, he compares them to the first shower of arrows in a Parthian attack:

"aut ut, nervo pulsante, sagittæ  
Prima leves incunt si quando prælia Parthi."

The light cavalry of Surenas buzzed round the army of Crassus, driving the Roman troops to desperation, inflicting much and incurring little loss. Finally, the Consul detached a mixed force 6,000 strong under his son Publius, with orders to charge the Parthians. He and his 6,000 were in the end surrounded and annihilated. The Parthians then returned to attack the main body under Crassus. "The mailed horsemen approached close to the legionaries and thrust at them with their long pikes, while the light-armed, galloping across the Roman front, discharged their arrows over the heads of their own men. The Romans could neither successfully defend themselves nor effectively retaliate." Night alone brought relief, and then only till the morrow. Treachery set a coping-stone upon the Parthian victory, and of the 40,000 whom Crassus led across the Euphrates not 10,000 returned. Then, as now, the Bedouin was swift to side with the victor, and made the Romans in their retreat realize the bitterness of the Brennian cry, "*La Victis!*" In these days the failure of Crassus would have been cited as an additional proof that no man over sixty is fit to be a General, and the familiar passage from Disraeli's "*Coningsby*"—which, by the way, teems with misleading figures—would have been quoted with more unction than ever. Suwároff, Count von Moltke, and Lord Roberts are conveniently ignored. Our adversaries still show some reliance upon sexagenarians.

Again we leap over a period of 450 years, and find that under the Sassanian dynasty all is changed. "We hear nothing† during these centuries of those clouds of light horse

\* Rawlinson, "*Sixth Monarchy*," p. 167.

† Rawlinson, "*Seventh Monarchy*," p. 649. The opening chapter of Procopius's "*Persian Wars*" describes the light horse of the Eastern Roman Empire as well mounted and equipped, and, when galloping at full speed, using the bow effectively to front or rear. This was in Justinian's time. Gibbon, in his narrative of Julian's retreat, remarks (vol.

which, under the earlier Persian and under the Parthian monarchy, hung about invading or retreating armies, countless in their numbers, agile in their movements, a terrible annoyance at the best of times, and a fearful peril under certain circumstances. The only light horse of which we have any mention during the disastrous retreat of the Emperor Julian's army are the Saracenic allies of Sapor (Shahpur).” We may add to this, on the authority of Professor Oman (“*Art of War in the Middle Ages*,” iv. 2), that the Byzantine army contemporary with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia used heavy cavalry alone from the days of the Emperor Maurice to the fatal Battle of Manzikert. At this period the people who found in light cavalry the arm best suited to their nature and purpose were the nomad tribes that roamed over the country separating the Roman from the Persian Empire. The Bedouin Arabs of Mesopotamia were known as “Saraceni” to the Greek and Roman writers of the first century of the Christian era, if not earlier, and, as we shall see presently, it was these Arab nomads who inherited the tactics of the Persian and Parthian school, and handed them down even to the present day. Ducange provides us with three or four derivations\* of the word “Saraceni,” which are in every way worthy of mediæval etymology, but modern philological research has rightly, it is believed by many, traced it to the Arabic word شرق (shārk), which means “the East.” “Saraceni” are nothing more or less, originally, than “men of the East”; and as the name was applied to nomad Arabs who infested the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire from Arabia and Egypt on the south to the upper waters of the Euphrates on the north, the derivation from the Arabic word signifying “East” cannot reasonably, one would think, be rejected.† But

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iii., p. 210): “As the horsemen of the East were trained to dart their javelins and shoot their arrows at full speed, and in every possible direction, the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight.”

\* *E.g.*, from Sara, wife of Abraham, and other equally fanciful sources.

† The Arabic plural of shārk is shārkīn, and dual shārkam. Saraceni, with the hard *c*, is a very natural Roman adaptation of the word.

although the Sassanian dynasty dispensed with the famous light cavalry, we have ample proof that the Persian nation never lost its skill in riding. Bahrām-i-Gur, the celebrated hunter of the wild ass, famed for its fleetness, was the *beau idéal* of the Persian hero and horseman; and Persia has, perhaps, a better claim than any country to the invention of polo, a game in which riding pure and simple plays a prominent part. I have vividly now before my eyes a painting in an old manuscript of Hafiz,\* in which figure two or more mounted polo-players, with the legend in Persian: "Come on to the polo-ground, King of riders; strike the ball." The game is distinctly described in Chardin's "*Voyages en Perse*," Tome iii., p. 58 (4th edit., 1735), where testimony is also borne to the agility, suppleness, and nerve of the Persian horsemen.

In the seventh century of our era, the Sassanian dynasty of Persia fell before the Arabs,† and they in turn fell, in the eleventh century, before the Seljukide Turks. In the year 1071, at the Battle of Manzikert, between the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenes and the Seljouk Alp Arslan, the scene enacted at Carrhæ between Crassus and Surenas was repeated. Again the horse-archer harried the heavies, yielded before their advance, pressed upon them in their retreat, and practically destroyed the Byzantine army. It was with them that Godfrey de Bouillon and his companions

\* The same, possibly, as is reproduced as frontispiece to the edition of the "*Rubāiyāt*" of Omar Khayyām and the "*Salāmān and 'Absāl*" of Jāmi, published by Bernard Quaritch in 1876. *Salāmān* is described (p. 68), amid his princely comrades, as the Prince of polo-players. See also the note on p. 110. *Shīrīn* and her ladies are represented in the Persian poets as playing polo against *Khusrau Parwiz* and his courtiers. See Sir P. M. Sykes' "*History of Persia*," vol. i., pp. 508 and 527-28, and vol. ii., p. 141.

† Gibbon (vol. vi, p. 292) writes of the Arab army which defeated the Persians at Cadesia, A.D. 636: "Their (the Arabs') military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers." Mr. Ameer Ali, in his "*Short History of the Saracens*," specially mentions the "extreme mobility" of the Arabs, and the bold activity of their light cavalry, but enters into no detailed description of their tactics. Gibbon (vol. vii., p. 33) describes the order of battle of the Saracens as "a long square of two deep and solid lines, the first of archers, the second of cavalry."

in command had to deal as the First Crusade marched from Nicaea to Antioch. That the Turks were then supported by the Bedouins of the Syro-Arabie desert there is no reason to doubt. Both Gibbon (vii., p. 213) and Michaud ("Hist. des Croisades," i., p. 172) incidentally indicate how the Crusaders learnt the lesson, fortunately at much less expense, which the Parthians had taught to Crassus and the Seljouk Turks to Romanus Diogenes. But, to gain a correct grasp of the ordeal that awaited the Crusading armies which traversed, or strove to traverse, Asia Minor, Jerusalem being their goal, the serious student must turn to Professor Oman's "Art of War in the Middle Ages," pp. 108-280, than which I know no better treatise on the subject.\* Like Xenophon, 1,500 years before, they took steps to extemporize an efficient body of light cavalry. These are the type of troops which later, whether as part of the forces of the Hospitallers or Templars or of the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus, became known in Europe as Turcopoli or Turcoph (*vide* Ducange, s.v.), or, in the Frank tongue, as *Turcoples*. Report has it that these Turcoph were recruited from the offspring of Christian fathers and Moslem mothers, or *vice versa*. The solid European was not adapted to light cavalry work in the East. The half-breed, of whom there must have been thousands between the Egean Sea and the Persian Gulf, was made use of for the light horse, just as he was also, from the fourth century onward, for the Janissaries.† Comte Jean de Kergorlay, in his "Soirs d'Épopée en Chypre,"

\* Professor Oman's description of the battle of Marchfeld (August, 1278) is a contemporary picture of the use of horse-bowmen and light cavalry in Europe ("Art of War in the Middle Ages," pp. 500-510).

† *Vide* Whitworth Porter's "Knights of Malta," edit. 1858, vol. 1, p. 260, and edit. 1883, pp. 164 and 725; Vertot's "Hist. de l'Ordre de Malte," vol. 1, p. 206; and Addison's "Templars," p. 72. It is interesting, in comparing the statements in Ducange with those of Addison, Vertot, and Porter, to note that to the Turk *Turcopli* were the offspring of a Turkish father and Christian mother, whereas to the Hospitaller and the Templar they were the offspring of a Christian father and Turkish mother. The general history of invasions and conquests, the habits of a "licentious soldiery," and the part generally played by the weaker sex under such circumstances, will explain this inversion or, I should rather say, alternation of the rôle of the two sexes.



pp. 10-11, thus defines "*Turcoples*": "*Milice à cheval accessible aux roturiers et recrutée indifféremment parmi les Européens et parmi les Chrétiens orientaux.*" The *Turcoples* of Cyprus ranked as *écuyers*, and were endowed by the King of Cyprus. In the organization of the Hospitallers and Templars the post of *Turcopolier* or commander of the light cavalry was one of high dignity. Considering that from 1310 to the day of their suppression (1798) the Hospitallers inhabited two islands, Rhodes and Malta, we fail to see why the commander of the light cavalry was a person of importance; but Vertot and Whitworth Porter explain this by saying, the one that "*les Hospitaliers ne se servaient de ce titre que pour désigner le Colonel général de l'Infanterie,*" and the other that the *Turcopolier* had charge of the coast defences of both islands. It must have been, therefore, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while the great military Orders held the Holy Land, that the title of *Turcopolier* conveyed its true meaning—viz., that of commander of the light cavalry; and as such, as we learn from M. J. D. Le Roulx ("*Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100-1310 A.D.*"), he was subordinate to the *Maréchal* of the Order. It was not till 1304 that the Chapter-General raised him to the rank of a Capitular Bailiff, and in 1328 attached the dignity once and for all to the English Langue.\* From 1328 to 1551 the dignity of *Turcopolier* was held and its duties performed by the conventual Bailiff of the English Langue. Sir Richard Shelley, a cousin of Sir Philip Sidney,† was the last Englishman to fill the office, which, after his death, was incorporated in the person of the Grand Master, pending the revival of the English Langue, suppressed by Henry VIII. As some few persons, even among the members

\* "*Les turcoples, troupe auxiliaire de cavalerie légère, analogue aux chevan-légers et très employée à l'Orient, se recrutèrent en dehors des frères de l'Hôpital. Ils étaient commandés par le turcophier. . . Il n'était, en effet au XIII. siècle, qu'un officier militaire, subordonné au maréchal comme les châtelains et les commandeurs des chevaliers. Le Chapitre de 1304, en l'assimilant aux baillis capitulaires, en fit un grand dignitaire de l'Ordre*" (Le Roulx, *op. cit.*, p. 345).

† See Wallace's "*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*," pp. 136 and 141.

of the modern English Grand Priory, are aware, the English Langue *has* been revived, and that nearly ninety years ago; but, though the revived Langue once again rejoices in its "Bailiff of Egle," it has not yet recovered its Turcopolier.

I have on several opportunities in the last three or four years ventured to suggest that the time is at hand when the reunion of the several branches of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem might take place. The great Napoleonic War period undid the Order, and made Malta what it is and must remain—viz., British. But what the Great War of 1790-1815 undid, the Great War of 1914-1917 may possibly restore. Italy has paved the way by hoisting in 1911 the Banner of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which is also the Banner of the House of Savoy and of the Italian kingdom, on the old Citadel of the Knights in Rhodes. By the Treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814,\* the possession of Malta was conferred to His Britannic Majesty; and, in consequence of this, representatives of the Order, duly empowered, applied to the Congress of Vienna, in 1814, for the grant of a *chef-lieu* somewhere in the Mediterranean, in place of Malta. The request was not then granted. A similar request may very well be preferred before the Congress which will be convened on the termination of the present war. It is not in the power of anyone to assert categorically that that Congress would refuse to concede the restoration of the island of Rhodes to the Order. Rome is the *chef-lieu*; Berlin is the seat of the Johanniter Orden; London is the headquarters of the revived English Langue, not unprobably, in point of wealth and power and influence, the greatest of the three. Let the three unite, and let France once more revive the Langues of Provence, Auvergne, and France, and join her forces with Rome, London, and Berlin, and who can say that Italy, the

\* *Vide* Hardman's "History of Malta," 1798-1815, pp. 533-34. The offer of Cyprus to Greece in the autumn of 1915 is the strongest proof we have of the critical situation in which the Entente found itself when Bulgaria threw in her lot with the Central Powers and King Constantine traitorously deserted Serbia. We have lived to be thankful that Greece refused Cyprus, than which Malta itself is scarce more valuable to us now in the Mediterranean.

Power in possession, will not agree to accept the omen of the White Cross Banner and let it remain there as the symbol of the resuscitation of the Hospitaller power? Let this further be noted! When the close of this war opens the question of the control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, guarantees that the Power in possession of those straits will not fortify them and will not utilize them as a military and naval base are imperative. It will be remembered that a Bulgarian authority leaked out asserting that the Islands of the Aegean would be held by one or more of the Great Powers as such a guarantee. Under the guarantee of the Great Powers Rhodes may well be held by the united Orders of St. John, and the very international character of its government will be a guarantee of peace in the Levant. When that has been achieved we may again hope to see an English Turcopolier, whose duties will be, not to lead the light cavalry but to organize the coast defences, including heavy long-range guns, mines, and the Hospitaller Flying Corps. What a future to contemplate! And yet, the Hospitaller Order is blind to its fascinations. Contrast their apathy with the fire and force of the Kaiser when, at Marienburg on June 5, 1902, he addressed these words to the assembled Knights of the Teutonic and Johanniter Orders: "Ancient Marienburg must always remain a symbol of Germany's mission. Here in Marienburg I express my expectation that all the Brothers of the Order of St. John will always be at my service when I call them to guard German manners and customs." It is reported that the Johanniter Orden has intrigued in Russia since this war began as actively as the Teutonic Knights intrigued and fought in Poland and Lithuania 700 years ago.

The Osmanli Turks, no more than the Hospitallers, found use for light cavalry in a Mediterranean island. The broad, open areas of Asia Minor and Macedonia, the plains of Hungary, the steppes of Russia, and the wastes and oases of Persia, have proved the best school for the *élite* of the world's *cheval-légers*. Lord Curzon of Kedleston gives, in his *mag-*

*num opus*, "Persia and the Persian Question," a graphic description of the Persian Irregular Cavalry of to-day.\* Wiry horse and hardy trooper are well depicted.† "They are for the most part splendid horsemen, being trained to ride from childhood, and being able to perform remarkable feats of agility and marksmanship while proceeding at full gallop. Herodotus said that the ancient Persians taught their sons three things— to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth.· Though the last-named precept has long ago been expunged from the ethical code of their descendants, the Persians still observe the first prescription, while at 'drawing the long bow' they are unequalled in the world.‡ These irregular cavalry are the sole modern survivors of the mounted hosts that scattered the legions of Rome, that followed the banner of Tamerlane, and that crossed the Indus with Nadir Shah."

When, as a sequence to the famous interview between Napoleon and Alexander I. at Tilsit, British and French missions sought the Court of the Shah; when the Home and Indian Governments sent rival envoys, Harford Jones and Malcolm, to Teheran; and when the Frenchman Verdier and the Englishmen Christie, Lindsay Bethune, and Pottinger, were vying with each other as educators of Persian soldiery— *i.e.*, about the years 1808 to 1810—an independent French traveller, M. A. Dupré, has left us in the 54th Chapter of his "Voyage en Perse" (Paris, 1810) an account of the Persian cavalry of his day. He estimates their strength at 140,000, and mentions seeing 10,000 of them escort the

\* Vol. i., pp. 591-92, chap. xvii.

† I had some opportunity in 1885, when returning from Herat to Constantinople, for studying the Persian troops. The *National Review* of January, 1886, was good enough to publish my experiences.

‡ This playful thrust is probably inspired by "Haji Baba," for which inimitable book Lord Curzon once wrote a Foreword. Probably the editor of *Blackwood* of to-day has forgotten that Maga of January, 1824, reviewed "Haji Baba" most severely. When I was, some years ago, reviewing the "Memoir of Sir John McNeill, G.C.B.," I pointed out that in 1824 and 1825 *Blackwood* was bringing out McNeill's "Visits to the Harem" (in Persia), and was probably not disposed to tolerate a rival in "Haji Baba."

Shah in 1808 from Teheran to his summer camp at Sul-tanieh, when the French Legation was invited to accompany His Majesty. M. Dupré's account is thus worded:

" La cavalerie est tirée des tribus guerrières qui sont répandues dans les vallées de l'Empire. . . . Les chevaux sont agiles, vigoureux, et d'une belle taille. . . . Les cavaliers doivent se fournir d'armes. Elles consistent en une carabine ou fusil court, qu'ils tirent en courant au grand galop et avec beaucoup d'adresse, soit devant, soit derrière, et dans toutes les directions. Cette manière de guerroyer rappelle encore ces fameux Parthes, qui lancaient des traits en fuyant, et donc les attaques perfides désespéraient la brave légion romaine qui ne pouvait les atteindre. Les cavaliers persans ont encore cela de commun avec leurs ancêtres qu'ils portent une lance longue et fort légère, dont ils se servent admirablement. . . . Les cavaliers turcomans sont souvent armés d'un arc et de flèches, qu'ils emploient avec beaucoup d'avantage en fuyant, pour arrêter ou du moins retarder l'ennemi lorsqu'il est à leur poursuite. Les sabres sont en général excellens. C'est l'arme à la quelle le persan attache le plus de prix, et dont il se sert avec une grande dextérité." M. Dupré's description of the saddle and the way it is adjusted carries our thoughts back to Canon Rawlinson's picture of the Assyrian light horseman on his barebacked charger. He concludes: " On juge aisément combien cette selle est incommode et même dangereuse pour le cavalier; mais l'habitude le préserve de toute crainte, et semble l'identifier avec le cheval."

It is very well known that the Turcomans have for long been famous for their long-distance raiding. " Haji Baba " tells us of that. The great Turcoman raiders were never Persian subjects. They have now for more than thirty years been subject to Russia. When I was at or near Herat in 1884-85, an Afghan officer told me how he and his squadron or troop had turned out from camp near Herat and pursued Turcoman raiders till they overtook them in the Badghis desert after a ride of seventy miles. Even to this day Persia seems

to be *par excellence* the country for long-distance rides. Most English travellers in Persia have heard of the records made, and sometimes helped to make them.

I may add that the account of the Persian cavalry given by Sir John Malcolm in his "History of Persia" (vol. ii., pp. 495-6) differs from that of M. A. Dupré (both wrote of the same period) in one essential particular only—viz., that Malcolm's estimate of the strength of the tribal horse of Persia, is 80,000, instead of 140,000. When Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, the United States Minister to Persia from 1882-85, wrote his "Persia and the Persians" (John Murray, 1887), the conditions of warfare had undergone seventy years of change, but he records the opinion which is expressed by most—viz., that, given only good organization and leadership, the material, and that good material, is there.

The Cossack and the Croat have both in their day made their mark in Europe, and carried terror into the lands which their rulers invaded. The Croats of Tilly were the "Huns" of their day. The French cavalry of the seventeenth century, trained under such men as Turenne and Condé, acquired a very high reputation, but competent authority states that "it could not vie with that of the Turks either as regards its own efficiency or the results which it achieved. So formidable and so much feared were the Turkish horsemen that the Russian infantry, when opposed to them, invariably carried *chevaux-de-fris* in light carts for their protection. It had been very justly remarked that no other cavalry has ever obtained such an ascendancy as this over infantry."\* Colonel Chesney, the man who should have made the Baghdad Railway, writing in 1854 of the Russo-Turkish campaigns of 1828 and 1829, said:† "The high name acquired by the Cossacks elsewhere in Europe was not, nor is it likely

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica," 6th edit., "Cavalry."

† Chesney's "Russo-Turkish Campaigns," 1828-29, p. 360. I would also draw attention to General Sir Richard Willebrian's lecture on this campaign printed in vol. xv. of the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, p. 697, where the superiority of the Turkish light cavalry to the Russian is fully demonstrated.

to be, maintained in Turkey, where they were speedily matched by the Delli,\* and the heavy massive dragoons shared the same fate. The cavalry of the Turks had, and will probably continue to have, the advantage in the field." Colonel Frank Russell, writing of the same period, says:† "The great strength of the (Turkish) army lay in irregular cavalry"; but when he comes to write of the same army in 1877, he says: "The Turkish horsemen of the present day have lost all the dash and enterprise which rendered them during the last century the terror of European armies." It would seem that the spirit and genius of the irregular horseman has fled back to whence it came, to the Bedouin Arabs or Saracens of Mesopotamia and the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys. If so, then it will meet a worthy rival in the mobile cavalry of the Indian Army. Let that cavalry cut its way to Baghdad, as in 1882 it cut its way to Cairo.‡ Both in their day have been capitals of the Caliphs. Both are destined to own a British suzerainty.

Even to this day the home of the light horseman is the East; and, when this war is over, the light cavalry of the

\* The name "Delli," or "Deli" as others spell it, has almost passed out of ken. I am indebted to the Librarians of the War Office and the Royal United Service Institution for kindly furnishing the information which my own library failed to afford. Major Wyllie tells me that the Turkish dictionary translates "Deli" as (1) a madman, (2) a kind of irregular troops in olden times. Mr. Huddleston of the War Office sent me the following note: "In Valentini's 'Traité sur la guerre contre les Turcs,' traduit de l'allemand par L. Blesson (Berlin, 1830), on p. 79 there is a footnote: '*Deli* signifie littéralement un homme *déterminé* ou hasardeux: en quelque sorte une *mauvaise tête* ou un *forcené*; on pourrait rendre le sens par *enragé*. Ce sont des cavaliers volontaires, la fleur peut-être de la nation, supérieurement armés and habillés, qui accompagnent toujours le Pacha ou le Chef et dont plusieurs se sont quelquefois entièrement dévoués pour lui.'"

In this definition of the "Delli" or "Deli" we find, first of all, a suggestion of the "Ghāzi" with whom every frontier soldier in India is familiar; and secondly, the *beau sabreur* of the Turkish army of a century ago.

The Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali, the author of "A Short History of the Saracens," and a foremost authority on all that concerns Islam, writes to me: "The word 'Delli' was common in India also, under the Moguls. It means 'irregular,' as I understand it."

† Russell's "Russian Wars with Turkey," pp. 61 and 243.

‡ This story will be best read in Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's coming "Life of Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson."

Indies and of the basins of the Euphrates and the Nile may, not impossibly, under the ægis of the *pax Britannica*—there is a suspicion here of a “bull”—once more mould the destinies of wars. Barbed wire, troglodytic defences, and high-explosive monster shells, are not encouraging, but the days of Stuart and Mosby raids are not yet past. War, as we saw fifty odd years ago, promptly taught our American brethren, both of the north and south, that light cavalry had still a powerful rôle before it; and we may reasonably anticipate that, before this war is over, cavalry will once again assert itself. Indeed, it is reported to have been used recently with some effect, both in France and in Macedonia. All reports from Mesopotamia are so indefinite that no opinion on cavalry action there can be formed. It is, however, perfectly clear that once one army gets another on the move, the cavalry come into play, as has been the case in the Dobrudja, where the Bulgarian Cavalry actively followed up the Russo-Rumanian retirement, and in Albania, where the French and Italian Cavalry are reported to have effected a junction for the purpose of conjoint operation against the Bulgarians in Servia.\*

\* On the qualities of “Spahis,” Mamluks and Arabs, and of the Cossacks, when they were Moslem and Turkish (not Russian) subjects, Freiherr Georg von Valentine, in his “Military Reflections on Turkey” (London, 1828), gives his own personal experience. He specifies the mobility of Turkish cavalry in the roughest country, and the effect of its sudden appearance on an enemy’s flank or rear.



## MILITARY NOTES

BY GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

MANY once popular theories have been proved to be fallacies by the events of the present war. One is the theory of the Blue Water School that Great Britain could rely for defence entirely upon her Navy, and need only keep up an Army for the purpose of providing garrisons for India and the Colonies. And the Blue Water Scholars pointed out quite truly that our standing army was too small compared with the national armies of the Continent, and that therefore we could not take part in a Continental war. One wiseacre wrote an article which was published in a Service journal suggesting that our Garrison Artillery should be converted into Marine Artillery, as the Army had no use for heavy guns ! His opinion seemed to be shared by Lord Haldane, who selected the Royal Garrison Artillery as the principal object of the reductions which he made in our military establishments.

Another popular fallacy was that which was so ably and forcibly expounded by the Russian publicist M. Bloch, that war would spell financial and commercial ruin for any civilized nation engaging in it, and that therefore a European war was unthinkable, not to say impossible. And some of his disciples maintained that any war could be prevented by the great financiers of Europe agreeing to stop the supplies of cash and closing the money markets to the belligerents. These theorists quite overlooked the fact that the soldier can hold a pistol to the financier's head,

and demand his money or his life. Norman Angell followed in Bloch's footsteps and argued that as war must be an unprofitable business, no nation would be foolish enough to engage in it, or, at any rate, ought not to be foolish enough to engage in it; but, unfortunately, nations sometimes imagine that war may be made profitable, and experience would seem to show that they are sometimes right in this supposition. Germany certainly profited by the war of 1870, and expected to profit by the present war; and Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro all profited by the Balkan War of 1912, and Bulgaria would have profited, too, if her rulers had not thrown away the fruits of victory by their supreme folly. Their entering upon war with their former allies certainly did not pay, but that bitter experience did not deter them from plunging into the present war, the results of which will probably prove still more disastrous for them.

The Bulgars are by race Tartars who migrated from Central Asia to the banks of the Danube one thousand years ago; and the early Arab geographers place the land of Bulghar to the north of the Caspian Sea. In character the Bulgarian strongly resembles his cousin the Turk; he is equally brave, equally stubborn, and equally stupid. He has, however, adopted the Christian religion and the Slavonic language, and has consequently come to be reckoned as a Slav, and recognized as a member of the Pan Slavist fraternity. In his quarrel with his allies of the Balkanic confederation in 1913 he was originally in the right; but he managed to put himself in the wrong; and now, befooled by the specious promises of Germany, he has taken up arms against the Russians, who freed him from his bondage to the Turks less than forty years ago. It would serve him right, and be a useful lesson to him for the future, were the Russians, when they emerge victorious from this war, to replace him under Turkish rule.

The shuffling of the cards in the Balkan game of politics would baffle the most far-sighted diplomatist. A few years

ago Bulgaria was the faithful follower of Russia and of Panslavist policy, while Roumania was looked upon as the only possible ally of Germany in the Teutonic Drang nach Osten. A Latin *enclave* in a surrounding expanse of Slavdom, Roumania was widely separated from her neighbours by both race and language, and her political sympathies were with the West rather than with the East of Europe. Germany certainly counted on her as an ally in the long-foreseen and inevitable contest between the Teuton and the Slav for political supremacy in the Balkan Peninsula. But the defection of Italy from the Triple Alliance, and the adhesion to it of Turkey and Bulgaria, enlisted the sympathies of the Roumanians in favour of their kindred Latin peoples of the Entente; and the liberation of the Roumanian populations of Transylvania and the Bukovina appeared to be a stake worth playing for, once the chance of the final victory of the Central Powers was discounted. The old King Carol would not lightly have drawn his sword against his German kinsmen; but his successor has chosen to throw in his lot with the country of his adoption in the hope of enlarging her boundaries and extending his sway.

In the Middle Ages, and even as late as three hundred years ago, Religion was the dominating factor in politics. The question whether a Catholic or a Protestant heir was to succeed to the throne of some petty German principality, or whether a Mediterranean island fortress was to hoist the flag of the Crescent or the Cross, absorbed the energies and engaged the sympathies of the whole civilized world. To-day Religion takes a back seat. Protestant Prussia, Catholic Austria, Orthodox Bulgaria, and Musalman Turkey, form a strange new Holy Alliance; while an equal diversity of creeds, supplemented by Japanese Buddhism or Shintoism, appears in the ranks of the Entente Powers. In spite of Hague Conferences and international arbitration and peace propaganda, we are still a long way from the prevention or cessation of war; but at all events

we shall have no more purely religious wars, and that is a big mercy to be thankful for.

We were under the impression that the term "sniper" used for a marksman or sharpshooter, was quite a modern invention ; but we have come across it in the diary of an officer kept during the Nepaulese War of 1814, and now published for the first time in the *Journal of the R.U.S.I.* for August. The writer mentions the Gurkhas "sniping" at our Sepoys on two occasions. The expression, which has become stereotyped in the present war, is not a happy or appropriate simile, for the sportsman's snapshot at the erratic snipe is very dissimilar from the steady and deliberate aim of the lurking rifleman in the trenches.

The conditions of warfare are undergoing a thorough process of alteration through the progress of mechanical invention. They have already been much modified in the present war by the activities of the aeroplane and the submarine, and now the motor-car has extended its sphere of action from the lines of communication to the fighting-line. The armoured battle-car, bristling with guns and rifles, careering over the barbed-wire entanglements and trenches of the enemy's line carries the imagination back to the times of Persian and Punic wars, when the towered elephant with his iron-plated forehead and his load of archers and slingers trampled his way through lines of hostile infantry. The fire-arms which finally banished him from the battlefield are an added terror to the destructive progress of the modern monster.

History has once more repeated itself in the revival of the practice of throwing grenades or bombs by hand, which was a common feature of tactics in the armies of Europe two centuries ago. The grenadier or bomb-thrower was a soldier specially selected for strength and courage, and equipped and trained for this particular purpose. At first the number was ordinarily limited to four men in each company of infantry, but after some experience the grenadiers of a battalion were assembled in a separate

company. The old institution will perhaps be revived along with the old practice, and our infantry regiments again include soldiers bearing the time-honoured title of Grenadiers, which was suppressed in our regiments of foot in the year 1860, having survived for many years as a nominal title without any tactical significance.

It is now more than fifty years since British troops appeared in the region variously described as the Dobruja, the Dobrudja, or the Dobrudscha, the latter variant being the clumsy German method which employs four letters to express the letter *j*. When our Army lay encamped at Varna in the summer of 1854, the Brigade of Light Cavalry, the same which afterwards charged at Balaklava, was sent into the Dobruja to observe the movements of the Russian Army; but they never came into contact with the enemy, who had withdrawn after raising the siege of Silistria. The successful defence of that fortress by the Turks was largely due to the skill of two officers of Engineers of the Honourable East India Company's Army - Lieutenants Butter and Nasmyth, who directed the operations of the garrison.

Many other Anglo-Indian officers who happened to be at home on furlough at that time joined the Turkish Army on the Danube and fell fighting against the Russians; among them Lieutenant Arnold of the 3rd (now the 63rd) Palamcottah Light Infantry, who with several others was killed leading the Turks in the desperate crossing of the Danube at Giurgevo. The name of that place, as well as those of Silistria, Turtukai and Kalafut, were familiar enough to the readers of our newspapers half a century ago, and now they have again come into our view in a mightier struggle in which the Russian enemy has been transformed into our ally, and the Turkish friend into a foe.

The enlistment of Bengalis in the ranks of our Indian Army is a complete *volte-face* on the part of our Military Administration. Its recent policy has been to exclude all but the scions of warlike races from our military service; and not long ago, in pursuance of this policy, some twenty

thousand Madrasis were disbanded and their places filled by recruits from the martial races of Nepaul and the Panjáb. Now the order has gone forth to accept recruits from what has hitherto been regarded as the most unwarlike race in the whole Peninsula, for as a soldier the Bengali is presumably as inferior to the Madrasi as the latter is to the Panjâbi. We say presumably, because the Bengali has never yet been tested as a soldier; he has in the past had a rooted objection to the employment of physical force. He has never even offered himself as a candidate for military honours, and the Sepoys who fought under Clive at Plassey were Madrasis.

It remains to be seen, however, now that the Government has extended to the Bengali the privilege of serving their country as soldiers, how they acquit themselves. They have a splendid opportunity.

But the most amazing thing in the new departure is that the experimental double-company of Bengalis that is to be raised to test the martial qualities of their nation is to be attached to Coke's Rifles, a famous frontier regiment largely recruited from trans-frontier Pathans, Afridis, and Yusufzais, men who, to say the least, do not look favourably upon the martial potentialities of the Bengalis.

To give the Bengalis a chance of proving their mettle, it may be suggested that a corps recruited from amongst them should be attached to some Mahratta or Rajput regiment where they might be expected to find more congenial company than among Sikhs and Pathans.

The proposal to enrol Eurasians in a separate corps in the Indian Army is once more brought forward as a consequence of the present war. There are plenty of Eurasians now employed in our Volunteer Corps, and the musicians, drummers, and buglers of our Carnatic regiments are entirely recruited from them; some of them, like the brothers Skinner, have risen to high rank and left their names on the records of the Indian Army. In the early days of our military establishments in India, before we had

begun to enlist Indians as Sepoys, there was a corps of Eurasians maintained at Fort St. George under the name of Topasses, meaning probably wearers of topis (hats) as distinguished from the turbaned natives. After the introduction of trained and disciplined corps of Sepoys we hear no more of these Topasses. During the great Mutiny in 1857 two corps of Eurasians were raised which continued for some years to form part of the Indian Army; one was a cavalry corps called the Lahore Light Horse, the other a regiment of foot called the East Indian Regiment. Both these corps were disbanded, perhaps owing to want of recruits: it was also urged as a reason for dispensing with their services that they cost as much as British soldiers to maintain. A few Eurasians are to be found in the fighting ranks of the Indian Army: there was one John Dennis, who was Subadar-Major of the Palamcottah Light Infantry; and I remember a gallant Subadar of the 25th Bombay Infantry, an Indo-Portuguese, who was killed in the last Burmese War.

I observe that lately an attempt has been made by some persons in India to substitute "Anglo-Indian" for "Eurasian" as the descriptive appellation of the mixed races of Europeans and Indians. But Anglo-Indian has a stereotyped meaning as the term for the British resident population of India; and it would give rise to confusion as well as be a misnomer to apply it generally to the mixed races, a moiety of whom are descended from Portuguese and some from Dutch parents. At one time in the Madras Army the word Indo-Briton was used to denote a descendant from a British and an Indian parent; but the majority of our bandsmen and drummers were of Portuguese origin, Silvas, Souzas, and Rosarios. The word Eurasian was invented about a hundred years ago to include all the mixed nationalities, and it has hitherto answered its purpose very well. In Ceylon the Portuguese and Dutch mixed descendants are called Burghers, a local name with no racial significance.

## SPECULATIONS ON NEW NEAR-EASTERN FRONTIERS AFTER THE WAR

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL L. A. WADDELI

ALTHOUGH the end of the war is not only not in sight, but so far distant that our professional War-Chief wisely counsels the public to look forward at present merely to the *middle*, and not the end, we have already, during the past two years, been treated to many ingenious attempts, amateurish and other, at recasting the map of Europe and Asia Minor after the war, as if that question could especially at this stage be lightly estimated or solved by the man-in-the-street, like the forecasting of a cabinet after a general election.

Nearly all these speculations assume, as we all hope may prove the case, that the war will necessarily end in favour of the Allies, who will thereby acquire the right to dictate terms to Germany and her confederates, and will exercise this right by compelling very extensive alterations in the frontiers of Central and Eastern Europe, in addition to the retrocession of Alsace and Lorraine. Whilst a few authorities, even on the assumption of an Allied victory, propose less drastic transfers of territory, in the hope that a more moderate readjustment of boundaries on racial or national lines might prove acceptable to the rival claims and aspirations of the several nations concerned, and thus tend to a more durable peace in Europe.

The latest lecturer on the subject, Sir Harry Johnston, the well-known traveller and East African administrator,



has confided his views, a few days ago, to the Fabian Society, upon what the map of Europe and Asia Minor is to be like when the war is over ; and has even ventured to illustrate it by a concrete revised map. In Europe, Austria and Turkey, as has been generally presumed, disappear altogether : Austria being partitioned between Germany (which by the way gets Vienna), Hungary and the new State of West Slavia, which includes Bohemia. Poland is resurrected as a national unit, with Dantzic as its port in the Baltic, thus driving in a wedge between Germany and Prussia, to which it is suggested the Hohenzollerns should be banished. Russia takes European Turkey. Italy takes the Tyrol, the Trentino and Trieste ; but the Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic is given to Southern Slavia, the glorified Serbia which will stretch also to the *Ægean*, with its Eastern outlet through what is now Bulgaria proper : while Bulgaria is to yield part of her remaining territory to Rumania, which by the addition of Transylvania is to become nearly double its original size. Belgium is to be given a better strategical frontier on the east at the expense of Germany, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg is to become a Belgian protectorate. Only part of Alsace and Lorraine, however, would Sir Harry restore to France, according to a strict racial and linguistic line of district boundaries. In Asia Minor, Russia is given the north half of that peninsula, with a protectorate over Armenia, so that she secures control of the Black Sea and both shores of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. The southern half of Asia Minor is generously given by him to Italy, and only Syria to France, whilst Mesopotamia is to come under British sway. Sir Harry finds no spot whatever, even in Asia, for misguided and erring Turkey, notwithstanding that its Prussian inciters, who perpetrated infinitely greater atrocities, are to be spared an independent kingdom for their Hohenzollerns.

A more authoritative and helpful contribution to the question, as it exhibits some of the principles of partition,

and practical points to be considered in forming international boundaries, has opportunely appeared in a volume by one of the very few practical experts on the making of scientific political frontiers, Sir Thomas Holdich.\* He has had the unique experience of having been engaged in boundary commissions for fixing international frontiers in various widely separated parts of the Old and New Worlds; and his book is a welcome addition to the very scant literature on subject from a practical standpoint.

He confutes the academic idealists who assume that the civilized world has already attained to a cultured eminence which admits of a purely artificial line of separation as sufficient for nations, who are, or should be, anxious to assimilate one with another, and to dwell in bonds of mutual goodwill and international brotherhood. Thus Professor Lyde, of the London University, dealing with types of political frontiers in Europe, lays it down that three points are of vital importance in deciding on the position of a frontier :

- (1) The *racial* unit should as far as possible coincide with the *geographical* unit, especially if that racial unit has proved incapable of assimilation.
- (2) That in choosing a new political owner of any inhabited area, first consideration should be given to the capacity of the new owner to assimilate others.
- (3) That the features used for a frontier should be those where men naturally meet—"which is *not on water-partings or mountain crests.*"

So also a geographical writer, Miss Semple, in her "Influence of Geographical Environment," says : "A race-boundary involves almost inevitably a cultural boundary, often too a linguistic and religious, occasionally a political boundary. The last three are subject to wild fluctuation, frequently overstepping all barriers of race and contracted

\* "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making." By Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich. Macmillan and Co., 1916. 8vo., pp. 307. 10s. net.

civilizations. . . . We may lay down the rule that the greater, more permanent and deep-seated the contrast on the two sides of a border, the greater is its significance ; and that on this basis boundaries rank in importance with few exceptions in the following order: *racial, cultural, linguistic, political*. The less marked the contrasts in general, the more rapid and complete the process of assimilation on the belt of the borderland."

Now Sir Thomas Holdich finds that these theories and principles for an international boundary by no means accord with the exigencies of a practical delimitation. In the belief that the first and greatest object of a national frontier is to insure peace and goodwill between contiguous peoples by putting a definite edge to the national political horizon, so as to limit unauthorized expansion and trespass, Sir Thomas endeavours to show what is the nature of a frontier that best fulfils these conditions in practice ; and how much at variance with the theory of idealists are the hard facts of practical necessity which invariably govern the demarcation of a scientific boundary ; and he suggests the methods for tackling these difficulties when they arise.

Dealing with the question of national frontiers historically, as well as practically, he gives us interesting chapters on many aspects of the subject which are enlivened by first-hand experience. Thus there are chapters on The Evolution of the Frontier, The Constitution of a Nationality, The Expansion of Nations, Sea-frontiers, The Growth of Russia, Spheres of Influence, Buffer-States, Military Aspects of a Frontier, Natural Frontiers, Artificial Boundaries, Geographical Problems in Boundary Delimitation, Boundaries in Africa, The White Man in Asia, International Borderlands in Asia and in Europe. It is written in a forcible popular style which is sure to attract many readers. It reproduces an occasional popular error, such as when it states that "the Bhots and Tibetans are the demons of Brahmanic scripture"—the fact being that the "Bhots" are Tibetans themselves, and it is only European

mappists who have misspelled the native name, who confuse the *Bhutas*, or "ghosts or spirits good and evil," of the Brahmans with the *Bhots* or Tibetans; neither the Brahmans nor other Indians make such a mistake or identification. But this is a small matter. The topographical data may be fully trusted as coming from such a scientific traveller and Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society; though we miss in a geographical book the total absence of maps.

The new facts reinforce the old truism which has latterly been too often overlooked in arranging frontiers after modern wars, that the geographical distribution of mountains interposes the most satisfactory barriers between continental nations, and the more effective the barrier, the more permanent the nationality, and more certain the advantages of peaceful occupation, and the less necessity for maintaining armies and expenditure on war material. *Physical geography therefore should rank first as the basis of political agreements where territory is concerned, and the distribution of races should be a secondary consideration, in separating hostile national interests to promote peace amongst the nations.*

In applying his special experience and general knowledge thus acquired to the conditions of the present war, in the light of history, racial dispositions, and the geographical features of the countries, the plea of our author generally is that the boundary should follow not rivers, but the ridge divides between the rivers; and that in the readjustment after the war what is wanted is not so much a wholesale alteration of frontiers as a redistribution of the population within political ring-fences. Our author discusses various possible or desirable readjustments of territory on geographical basis. Here we can only glance at a few of the more important.

Britain, protected by her sea-frontier, will gain, Sir Thomas believes, nothing territorially by the war "beyond certain easily recognized advantages in the rectification of

frontiers in her African colonies (especially in East Africa), and a dominant position in Mesopotamia. It would almost appear that England has been pouring out her treasure in blood and money *for a sentiment and an ideal*—the sentiment that her honour is concerned with the maintenance of weaker but friendly States and her high ideals of Christianity and Right.” He evidently thinks that the bulk of Germany’s lost colonies will be given back again !

Poland is a conspicuous example of how the absence of any natural boundary has exposed her through the ages freely to invasion from every side and has made her existence as an independent State impossible, except as a *protected* State, safeguarded by one or other of her more powerful neighbours.

Hungary, we are told, is a “ State which calls for little sympathy, both as an enemy in the present war, and as a tyrant over smaller nationalities in times of peace. The ancient Magyar kingdom would practically become absorbed in Rumania for good ethnical reasons. But the demand for Bukowina is not so easily justified, even if ethnical reasons could be adduced in support of it. It would shift the boundary from a good defensible line to a bad one, and immediately open the door for perpetual trouble with Russia. It would be a fatal defect on an otherwise sound frontier.”

But it is in the Balkans and Near East that the greatest difficulties lie, where so many races, antagonistic by heredity, are so intermixed over large tracts of borderland that the voice of the people as to their disposal can hardly be ascertained with any hope of arriving at any certain conclusion in respect to the will of the majority. Where such antagonistic nationalities are thus so intermixed, Sir Thomas makes the striking suggestion of partial deportation : that these non-assimilating people should be separated from each other in compartments, so arranged that within the limits of any one political ring-fence there should exist one homogeneous nationality. This, it is believed, could be

effected by determining the position of the ring-fence, and then requesting the nationalists to retire into the dominion assigned to them, or accept without further question a scheme of nationalization which would actually and positively amalgamate them with the body corporate of the nationality they adopt. And he instances the remarkable success achieved by the South American republics, such as Argentine and Chili, in taking emigrants from all nations of Europe and fashioning them into one patriotic nationality, in sentiment, and heart-whole loyalty to the new country of their adoption.

Respecting Turkey in Europe, he says, with remarkable pessimism for a British military officer, that until Constantinople is actually in the hands of the Allies, it is perhaps premature to dispose of that capital, or to suggest an international future for the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Yet as regards Turkey in Asia he considers the Russian occupation of Armenia a permanent arrangement, and foresees a probable advance of Russian territory, not only in the uplands of North Mesopotamia, but also into the rich valleys of Asia Minor along the Black Sea.

Regarding the speculations on territorial alterations, it will be seen that Sir Thomas Holdich, a military officer of great experience, and one of the foremost experts on the readjustment of political boundaries resulting from wars, although by no means a pessimist, does not share the prevalent confident belief, almost universally held by the Allied officers, that very extensive territorial changes will necessarily result from the present gigantic war. Perhaps, as in many previous wars, the results may prove to be very different from what is anticipated by the speculators on either side.

## CURRENT PERIODICALS

IN the November issue of the *Contemporary Review* there is a notable article by Mr. H. N. Brailsford entitled "The Civil Strife in Greece," from which we quote the following striking sentence: "Greece must achieve her own salvation. She can recover her self-respect only under the leadership of M. Venizelos, and it is difficult to hope much from half measures."

In the current issue of the *London Quarterly Review* are two articles which should be of special interest to our readers: one, "The Genesis of the Russo-Japanese Alliance," by St. Nihal Singh; the other "China's New President and the Political Outlook," by E. C. Cooper.

In the November issue of the *Fortnightly Review* there are three articles to which we would call particular attention: "The One Thing Wanting," by E. J. Dillon; "The Position of Roumania," by Politicus; "Zionism," by an Englishman of the Jewish Faith.

The current issue of the *British Esperantist* contains a full account of the address delivered by Dr. John Pollen, C.B.E., V.D., at Painter Stainers' Hall on "Russia and a Common Commercial Hall" before a large audience of City people and other persons of eminence interested in foreign trade and languages.

The Lord Mayor (Sir Charles Wakefield) presided, and, in opening the proceedings, after pointing out the lecturer's undoubted qualifications to address them on that theme, said, of course, if it could be arranged that there should be one universal language for all commercial transactions, the course of trade and industry would be immensely simplified and improved.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pollen said his subject was closely connected with the winning of the war after the War. As the cry now for the army was "Shells, shells, shells!" so after the War, for our mercantile army, it would be "Languages, languages, languages!" and to win this war we must see to it that our mercantile community is fully and properly equipped. Very properly a strong effort is being made just now to encourage everywhere

the study of the Russian language. By all means let people of the two nations do their best to learn each other's languages, but just now, so far as trade is concerned, time is the very essence of the contract. There is not a moment to be lost or wasted, and what is wanted *immediately* is a ready means of getting into touch with Russian merchants and traders without avoidable delay, and here one of the most gifted of the sons of Russia herself has come to the rescue. Colonel Pollen then proceeded to give a short account of Esperanto, the international auxiliary language, created and given to the world by Dr. Zamenhof; of its perfect adaptability for the desired object, and its present extensive use.

On the motion of Mr. John C. Nicholson, seconded by the Hon. Mizia Ali Baig, a vote of thanks was passed to the Lord Mayor, who, in reply, said he had learned something from a most interesting address. Other speakers who more or less heartily supported the speaker were Mr. A. Barton Kent, the Russian Colonel Beheaw, Mr. T. B. Callard, c.c., Mr. Malcolm (Russian Society), Mr. F. M. Sexton (Patent Office), and Mr. Mallam Williams.

### GREECE'S TWO GREAT STATESMEN

Miss F. R. Seachard has written two striking character sketches in the *Review of Reviews* (October and November) on M. Venizelos and Dr. Drakoules, from which we publish the following extracts :

"I had the privilege of seeing a good deal of M. Venizelos during the spring of 1912. The change wrought in Greece since his advent to power was amazing. Later on, in London, during the ill-fated Ambassadors' Congress, we met again. His successes had left his simple demeanour unaffected. The gift of humour, to a degree unusual among men of his race, will prevent him from ever developing inordinate self-esteem. Patience prolonged to the uttermost, self control and unquenchable, far-seeing optimism, these have always appeared to me as his predominant characteristics, and all three are clearly discernible in the terms of the latest proclamation issued from Crete."

About Dr. Drakoules, whose interview with King Constantine has created such an impression, she writes as follows :

"The spiritual successor of Regas, he has prepared the renaissance of Greece and paved the way for the triumph of Venizelos and the Liberal spirit. His indefatigable efforts for the salvation of his beloved country and in support of the cause of the Allies (which he regards as identical), will never be adequately realized until the inner history of the world conflict between the principles of Light and of Darkness can be dealt with from the necessary historical perspective."



## INDIA AND GERMAN TRADE

## I.

RECENT references in Parliament to the treatment of certain firms in India which are alleged to have had business connections with Germany may have led to the impression that the Indian authorities have been behindhand in dealing with German trade activities in that country. Such an impression would not, however, be justified by the facts. The war had lasted scarcely a month before the authorities in India were busily devising measures for controlling all business in the hands of hostile foreigners. It is true that German trade interests have never in India reached such formidable dimensions or so deeply penetrated the whole commercial fabric as in the United Kingdom. The amount of German capital invested in India has been computed to be about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling. Even if this estimate does not, as appears likely, prove to be an exaggeration, and allowing for the comparatively low aggregate of capital employed in India, it remains clear that the share in Indian business enterprises enjoyed by Germans has amounted to but a very modest proportion of the total amounts at venture in Indian commerce and industry. But this hostile interest, small though it was in extent, seems to have been a not inconsiderable factor in the economic development of the country, manifesting itself particularly in the control exercised over the export trade in certain raw materials produced in India, notably hides and certain mineral ores. There was also a considerable import trade from Germany.

Several houses, founded or managed by Germans, though frequently, in a legal sense, British, had for many years been established in India; and the ramifications of their business had spread in various directions. Calcutta was the seat of a large number of firms engaged in exporting Indian hides to Germany, which was, before the war, their best market. These firms were for the most part under German management; it is said, in fact, that Englishmen find this particular trade repugnant to their tastes. The hide firms, however, did not as a rule confine themselves to that one line of business, but extended their activities in various directions, under the description of general export houses. Certain German firms, again, built up a somewhat close connection with mining industries, particularly those relating to manganese ore and mica. As regards the first of these minerals, it was the policy of the Government, even before the war, to exclude foreigners from the enjoyment of any direct concessions. But they could, and did, obtain a considerable interest by means of agreements with the holders of concessions. Other firms, again, were agents for the sale in India of commodities exported from Germany. Such, for example, were the houses in Bombay established for the sale of German dye-stuffs. There were also some score or so of persons, of German origin, some naturalized, others not, plying petty trades in various parts of India.

Against all these representatives of German commercial interests the Indian Government took vigorous action at an early stage in the war. Their enactment on the subject, which appeared in November, 1914, gives them practically as wide powers as the Government at home took only after the lapse of eighteen months. By that measure they made it illegal for any German, or other hostile alien, to carry on trade in India except under a licence, and subject to the conditions of that licence.

As many as seventy-five firms were given licences which permitted them only to wind up their business; about forty others were closed down at once, liquidation proceedings

being unnecessary in their case; about eighty others, whose business served important British interests which could not otherwise be provided for, or which were considered to have very little capacity for mischief, were permitted to trade under control; the remainder, amounting to about fifty, which could be called hostile only in a very technical sense, were exempted altogether from control.

It can confidently be asserted that every business concern in India which had, during the war or immediately before it, any German or other enemy subject concerned in its management or having considerable pecuniary interest therein, was brought under scrutiny, and its capacity for carrying on business in a manner detrimental to British interests was rigorously curtailed.

Difficulties, however, arose in the practical application of the measures which the Government introduced for the suppression of enemy trading activities in India. One of the first of these difficulties lay in the peculiar way in which the liquidation of firms which were not permitted to trade any longer had to be carried out. In ordinary cases liquidation, however prolonged, proceeds towards a clearly defined end, and is as a rule resorted to only when a firm cannot meet its obligations. The liabilities being greater than the assets, the latter are (in theory at any rate) realized in full; and the claims of creditors are adjudicated according to a well-established procedure.

The forced liquidation of enemy firms, however, presented few of the usual features. It was the exception, rather than the rule, to find their liabilities exceeding their assets. It was not the state of their internal affairs, but the exigencies of war, that called for their formal dissolution; and, being for the most part robust and healthy organisms, they took what seemed to some an unconscionable time in dying. It was no easy task to extinguish, for instance, the large import houses in Bombay, with their godowns full of goods indented for by the native dealers in the bazaar. To compel the distribution of these indent stocks before the regular sale

seasons might have proved very embarrassing to the small shopkeepers. These importing houses, moreover, had very heavy credits outstanding, but owed little or nothing in India; and in their case particularly, therefore, purely commercial considerations had little to do with their liquidation. Special considerations, again, applied to the case of firms engaged in the import and sale of dyes. It was certainly in the public interest to dispose of these without undue delay. On the other hand, it was necessary to guard against the danger of the dyes being hastily sold to one or two speculative buyers intent on making a corner. But, apart from special difficulties arising in particular cases, the work of liquidation was complicated and retarded by the limitation which it was thought necessary to impose upon the extent to which it might be carried. Political considerations were the determining factor in this respect. Whatever may be the present attitude of the British Government towards enemy property (and it has no doubt been largely and very rightly modified by experience of the German methods of conducting warfare, and by a realization of the meaning of German commercial penetration), they were at the outset anxious to avoid any appearance of confiscation. In accordance with the spirit of this resolve, orders were issued restricting the realization of assets to an amount necessary to discharge liabilities in India only. After meeting these obligations, the balance of realized assets was to be kept in the Government Treasury, and used for Government purposes (including payment of the costs of liquidation), to be disposed of ultimately according to whatever policy might be adopted by the Home Government. There remained a balance of unrealized property belonging to the firms, including buildings, stock, and that somewhat intangible asset goodwill. What was to be done with these assets was by no means clear. To realize them, as far as they were saleable, might put the firms to greater loss than had been intended. This consideration may be ridiculed now, perhaps, but it must be remembered that the original intention was

not to destroy German business concerns in India, but merely to suspend their activities during the war. A further sale of assets was likely, moreover, to lead to an abandonment of the principle that only Indian liabilities were to be discharged. This was not, however, a difficult step, and it was soon taken. An order was issued directing that liabilities in allied countries were also to rank, and the realization of assets was proceeded with to raise the necessary funds. Liabilities in neutral countries have now, it is understood, been included, and a further contribution has thus been levied on these enemy firms. That a more thorough reduction of enemy business interests in India was not undertaken at the outset has been frequently made the ground of attacks upon the Indian Government on a charge of undue tenderness towards the national enemy, and indifference to the importance of suppressing German trade. Critics who are inclined to be severe should, however, remember two things. First, that India was not behind hand in promulgating measures against hostile trading in the country. The ordinance on the subject was issued in November, 1914; and when we consider the variety and complexity of the problems confronting the Indian Government at the outbreak of the war, it will perhaps be conceded that in promptitude of action in this direction the Indian administration compares favourably with any other part of the British Empire. Delay, inseparable in any case from the suppression of numerous business concerns scattered over a vast country, undoubtedly occurred in the actual process of applying the law; and special causes, such as those which have been noticed above, tended still further to retard proceedings. Those who are disposed to charge the Indian authorities with being dilatory in the performance of this important duty would probably moderate their criticisms if they had leisure or inclination to look closely into the details of the task.

Secondly, the Government deliberately waited for a lead from the commercial community before tightening their grasp on enemy trading concerns in India. In this they

showed their wisdom. However much it may as a rule be the duty of Governments to initiate policy, on this occasion, at any rate, no measures, however admirable in intention, could have been profitably undertaken without the clear and active co-operation of the commercial community. On them depended, and still depends, the success of all endeavours to suspend, reduce, crush, or utterly obliterate the trade of the enemy in our midst.

This can scarcely be too strongly insisted upon. In that great attempt to which popular opinion now urges the authorities in each quarter of the British Empire to address themselves—namely, the suppression of all German trading within our territories—the Government, whether of Great Britain, of the Dominions, or of India, can hope for no measure of success, would not even be justified in taking a single step, unless they are assured, not merely of the approval but of the active co-operation of business men of all classes.

S.

*(To be continued.)*

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

## THE MAGNESITE MINES OF INDIA

BY C. H. B. BURLTON

As a prelude to a dissertation on the Magnesite Mines of India—which are found at Salem, a place on the Madras Railway, 207 miles from Madras, and nearly midway between Madras on the East Coast and Calicut on the West—it is desirable to say something about the mineral concerned and its general uses.

Magnesite is magnesium carbonate ( $\text{MgCO}_3$ —otherwise  $\text{MgOCO}_2$ )—*i.e.*, carbon dioxide combined with the oxide of magnesium. Magnesium itself is a very light metal whose atomic weight is 24.36 and specific gravity 1.75. The metal is widely distributed, and occurs in nature as a carbonate, a silicate, a sulphate, and a chloride. But as a metal *per se* magnesium is not a natural element. It is manufactured by interfusing the chlorides of potassium ( $2\text{KCl}$ ) and magnesium ( $\text{MgCl}_2$ ) with fluorite ( $\text{CaF}_2$ ), and carefully adding metallic sodium to the mixture. However, we are not concerned with the metal itself, but with its oxide ( $\text{MgO}$ ), or magnesia, which is obtained by calcining the carbonate, or magnesite, and thereby driving out the carbon dioxide ( $\text{CO}_2$ ).

Magnesite is the result of evolution from dunite, a highly siliceous mineral characteristic of the Dun Mountain in New Zealand, whence it derives its name. This dunite decomposes into olivine and chromite; and while chromite

segregates into nodules and veins, olivine decomposes into serpentine, which in due course passes into magnesite, as also into chalcedony and silica. A pure magnesite contains 47·6 per cent. MgO and 52·4 per cent. CO<sub>2</sub>, but such perfection is rare. Anything over 95 per cent. of magnesium carbonate is considered high grade, and such a magnesite can be recognized by its very white appearance, not unlike chalk, but it is absolutely dissimilar to chalk in composition. The lower grades are yellowish, owing to the existence of certain impurities in excess. The impurities to be looked for are silica, alumina, iron oxide, manganese oxide, lime, combined water, sulphuric acid, and calcium carbonate. Of these silica generally predominates. Silica is harmless in moderation, unless the magnesia is to be used for refractory purposes; but lime in excess of 2 per cent. is objectionable, and the less there is of it the better.

The following analysis may be taken as typical of Salem magnesite :

Silica	...	...	1·17	per cent.
Alumina	...	...	0·14	„ „
Manganese oxide	...	...	0·06	„ „
Lime	...	...	0·78	„ „
Magnesium oxide	...	..	46·28	„ „
Carbon dioxide	...	...	50·10	„ „
Combined water	...	...	1·30	„ „
Sulphuric acid	...	..	0·03	„ „
Magnesium carbonate	...	...	(96·38)	„ „
			99·86	„ „

The absence of iron oxide and calcium carbonate should be noted, as also the excellent percentage of magnesium carbonate, which stamps the specimen analyzed as First Grade.

Most of the impurities consist of insoluble matter, as will be observed; thus if we drive off the CO<sub>2</sub> in such a case as this, where the MgO and the CO<sub>2</sub> are approximately equal, the impurities which remain in the magnesia will be approximately doubled in percentage as compared with



what they were in the crude magnesite ( $\text{MgOCO}_2$ ). The specific gravity of the crude mineral varies from 3.0 to 3.06.

Magnesia is produced by calcining magnesite in kilns, which should be gas-fired to obviate such discoloration as would ensue if the material were brought into contact with coal or wood fuel.

There are two classes of magnesia produced, and each class requires a special kiln for its production. The kinds are (1) Lightly calcined, or caustic magnesia, the product of magnesite burnt at a temperature of from  $700^\circ$  to  $900^\circ$  C., or at most  $1000^\circ$  C.; and (2) Dead-burnt, or shrunk magnesia, which requires a temperature of  $1500^\circ$  or  $1700^\circ$  C., according to whether the crude material contains over or under 1 per cent. of iron oxide ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ) in its composition. In the Indian it is always well under unity, and generally so in the Greek; but in the Austrian the percentage of iron oxide is considerably higher, which gives it the advantage of being brought from the crude to the dead-burnt condition at the lower temperature of  $1500^\circ$  C., while having, however, less refractory power against heat.

There is also an extra refractory magnesia which is produced by fusing magnesite in the electric arc at  $3000^\circ$  C., and maintaining a current of 3500 ampères at a pressure of 65 volts.

The purpose for which dead-burnt magnesia is used necessitates the employment of a highly refractory material, for this class of magnesia is used for the manufacture of firebricks and crucibles and the hearths and linings of basic furnaces. Its specific gravity is 3.5.

Up to within the last three or four years the use of dead-burnt magnesia had been confined to Europe and America, but now, thanks to the enterprise of Messrs. Tata, of Bombay, who have erected furnaces at Kalimati, a demand for firebricks has arisen in India.

The lightly-calcined (L.C.), or caustic magnesia, differs from D.B. and the fused material in the following respects: (1) The L.C. is plastic, *per se*, and can be moulded into

shape under heavy pressure. The D.B. and the fused can be moulded only in combination with some plastic substance. (2) The L.C. slakes with water as lime does, and it re-carbonates if left to atmospheric action for long; thus it has a tendency to increase in weight during a voyage from India to Europe. The D.B. and the fused will not absorb water or  $\text{CO}_2$ . The specific gravity of caustic magnesia is about 3.07. It is used for chemical purposes—*e.g.*, in the manufacture of Epsom salts, which can be produced by treating the material with sulphuric acid. But it is perhaps more especially used as a cement. Very finely ground and co-mingled with magnesium chloride ( $\text{MgCl}_2$ ) in solution, it makes the hardest-known cement. This magnesium oxychloride ( $\text{MgOMgCl}_2$ ) mixture—which is sometimes called Sorel cement, from Stanislaus Sorel, who discovered it in 1853—combined with sawdust and with asbestos is used for floorings—*e.g.*, the floors of some of the carriages in the underground railways—and the decks of ships; combined with carborandum, for emery-wheels; and with sand and comminuted marble for steps, copings, window-sills, and much work besides for which stone is usually requisitioned. In conjunction with different aggregates it has been used for millstones, and for the wheels of a hansom-cab. Its carrying-power is immense, as may be gathered from the following recipe for artificial stone, as manufactured in the U.S.A. :

100 lbs. of beach sand ;  
10 lbs. of comminuted marble ;  
10 lbs. of Union cement ( $\text{MgO}$ ) ;  
10 lbs. of magnesium chloride ( $\text{MgCl}_2$ ),  
in solution, 20° Baumé.

Total 130 lbs.

This yields 1 cubic foot of moulded stone, the crushing-strength of which has been found to vary from about 7,200 to over 21,500 lbs. per square inch. A magnesium oxychloride combination will carry up to 20 parts by weight of sand to one part of the cement, and carrying four parts

of sand it is equal in strength to neat Portland cement of standard quality, both as regards tensile strength and resistance to crushing.

Caustic magnesia is also cementitious, *per se*, and mixed with water only—instead of  $\text{MgCl}_2$  in solution—has, with three parts by measure of crude magnesite as an aggregate, been used successfully as a wall plaster. But, to insure reliability, the chloride is necessary, and it makes the cement very much stronger than a mere mixture with water can do. For instance, a briquette manufactured at Salem in 1914, composed of one part of L.C. finely ground and three parts of sifted sand mixed with a solution of  $\text{MgCl}_2$ , 18° Baumé, attained a tensile strength of 550 lbs. per square inch after exposure for three days in dry air; while a similar briquette, with the  $\text{MgO}$  mixed with water only, snapped at a tension of 55 lbs. per square inch, under the same conditions. However, the latter would have increased in strength in the course of time, whereas an oxychloride cement sets hard in thirty-six hours, and attains its maximum strength in a week.

With this summary of the properties of magnesite, the way may be considered paved for an introduction to the mines where the Indian magnesite deposits occur.

The Salem Magnesite Mines are alluded to in this paper as the Indian Magnesite Mines advisedly, because it is believed that there are no other magnesite mines in India. There are several small deposits of magnesite in Mysore, but, these being isolated from suitable communications and from each other, it is doubtful whether it would pay to work them. Elsewhere in the world magnesite is found in Greece, Macedonia, Styria, Silesia, Russia, Asia Minor, Australia, the Transvaal, California, Quebec, and Venezuela. However, India and Greece dominate the market outside the Central Empires, though before the war the Austrian mineral was used considerably in America, where there is always a demand for the dead-burnt material, which could be supplied from Styria without difficulty owing to the

comparative ease with which its impregnation with iron oxide enabled it to be manufactured.

The Manager's Bungalow—speaking of the Indian Magnesite Mines—is situated alongside the Madras Railway, about a mile and a half to the north of Salem Station, and the mines are connected with the main line by a special siding. The deposits themselves cover an area of about 2,000 acres of Government and Jaghirdar land on the east and west sides of the main line; but those on the west side have scarcely been touched. Practically all the present workings are to the east of the railway, and they extend, with an interval of a couple of miles, to a place called Karapur, four miles distant. Karapur is the most prolific part of the concession that has yet been mined, and it pays to work at Karapur, although the magnesite has to be brought to the siding, or the kilns adjacent thereto, in bullock-carts. The bungalow, offices, siding, kilns, stores, sorting-sheds, etc., which are all conveniently close to one another, are connected with the main road to Salem—four miles away—by a private branch road three-quarters of a mile long. There is a moderately good public road, which passes through Salem, to the foot of the Sheveroy Hills, which is reached in seven miles, and an excellent ghât road, 13 miles long, all the way up to Yercand, the hill station, which is some 4,500 feet above sea level. The highest point of the Sheveroys is the Sheveroyen, which is over 5,000 feet. However, the Sheveroys have no connection with the magnesite deposits; they just afford a pleasant change of climate after a spell on the plains below. The magnesite occurs in hillocks varying from 50 to 100 feet above the plain, and also to a minor extent in the plain itself. These little hills are locally known as the “Chalk Hills” because of the remarkably white appearance of the outcrops of magnesite on the surface, though anything more remote from magnesite than chalk—which is of course pure carbonate of lime—cannot be conceived. The hills are very free from vegetation, for vegetation does not exist in

close association with extensive quantities of magnesite. There is everywhere a considerable dunite formation, and streaks of serpentine are here and there apparent. In about the year 1826 Dr. Macleod brought the existence of these deposits to the notice of the East India Company, and he obtained an honorarium for his researches on the value of magnesia as a cement, which he used for repairing the counterscarp of the moat of Fort St. George. In later times—though still many years ago—Captain, afterwards Sir Arthur, Cotton, one of India's most illustrious engineers, whose name is indelibly associated with the Lower Godavari Anicut, recognized the importance of magnesia as a cement, although he can scarcely have had a knowledge of the properties of magnesium chloride, for he had constructed his *magnum opus* some years before Sorel made his great discovery ; so it is unlikely that he can have received much support from his Government. But if, as is the case, the India of the present day, with Sorel's discovery before her eyes, with magnesite obtainable within her borders, with magnesium chloride procurable from the bitterns which remain in her very salt-pans after the salt has been crystallized out, allows nearly the whole output of one of her most important minerals to be exported to other countries who pay enormous freights to get it, how is it to be expected that the India of Cotton's day can have been burdened with less apathy than that which still prevails in the East?

It may be asked, if magnesium chloride in solution is so important for the manufacture of a reliable magnesia cement, how is it that Macleod, who was engaged on his researches over a quarter of a century before the oxychloride cement discovered, did without it? The answer is this, Macleod, when repairing the counterscarp of Fort St. George, is likely to have mixed his magnesia, previously ground, with sea-water ; and, as sea-water would have given him his  $MgCl_2$ , he unwittingly used magnesium chloride in his mixture twenty-six years before the effect of such a combination became known.

The Salem magnesite deposits must have lain dormant for upwards of three-quarters of a century after the evanescent interest awakened in them by Dr. Macleod and Sir Arthur Cotton, and dormant they might have remained to this day but for the enterprise of Mr. Henry Gribble Turner, of Staplegrove Manor, Somerset, who, after retiring from the I.C.S. over twenty-six years ago, has devoted himself to developing the resources of India. It was Mr. Turner who obtained a concession to open out the Salem deposits as a mining concern, and it is under the auspices of this gentleman that they are now being worked as such. However, this is but one of several enterprises with which Mr. Turner has been connected. He was the sole promoter of the East Coast Railway from Madras to Calcutta. He created the Vizianagaram Manganese Mining Company, and despatched from Vizag Port the first shipload of manganese that ever left India. He afterwards, in conjunction with the late Mr. Glass, a former Chief Engineer of the Central Provinces, formed the first and the most important of the manganese mining companies of the Central Provinces. It is to Mr. Turner that the great planting estates of North Travancore owe their inception. And in days to come, when there is a harbour at Vizag Port, and there are railways from Vizagapatam to Raipur and to Jagdalpur, the inhabitants of Vizagapatam district will, it is hoped, remember that they are largely indebted to the push and energy of one man, their old collector, for the construction of these works when they are carried out.

As regards the particular enterprise under treatment, the Salem magnesite occurs in blocks, strata, veins, and outcrops. The outcrops of the mineral are generally harder than the parts of the strata which are covered up. But there is sometimes an exception to this rule—*e.g.*, there is a notable exception in the case of a stratum at Karapur, which is four feet thick, and so hard that an output from it can only be obtained by a great deal of blasting. Speaking

of the deposit generally; the magnesite when quarried comes out in various sizes—from lumps double the size of a man's fist, known as "lump crude," down to smaller pieces no larger than an apple, or even a walnut, known as "smalls." All lump crude, to which may be added 30 per cent. of smalls, can be used for calcination in the kilns; and all smalls are in demand for chemical purposes.

Everywhere, the mining, or—speaking more accurately—the quarrying, is in open cast, the cuttings being forty feet sheer, or more in places, and the proportion of magnesite taken out in development may be about 15 per cent. of the "deads" removed. The deads are loaded on to side-tip steel trucks, and conveyed by tram lines from the cuttings to the dumps, where this refuse is deposited. The magnesite, before being arranged for measurement, is denuded of all earthy matter by hand, preparatory to being stacked in rectangular masses 3 feet or 3 feet 6 inches high. These masses of crude are drawn on to the extent required for exportation to Europe, and for use by certain firms in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. What is not required for these purposes is calcined in the kilns. Practically the whole of the magnesite—crude and calcined—is railed to Madras, where it is put on board. No magnesite is shipped from the West Coast.

**KILNS.**—There is no dead-burning done at Salem. Some years back an attempt was made to dead-burn the crude in a coal-fed Schneider kiln; but after some 60 tons had been produced, the temperature of  $1700^{\circ}$  C. was too much for the firebricks, for, though of magnesite, they were hand-moulded bricks. Magnesite bricks should be moulded under heavy pressure, and burnt at a high temperature to insure infusibility. Firebricks may also be of fire-clay or of silica, but for calcining magnesite, which is a basic substance, silica bricks should be avoided, for silica is an acid substance, and, as such, will disintegrate if brought into contact with a basic refractory under great heat.

As regards light calcination, this was at first effected by

burning the crude magnesite in bottle-kilns fed by wood fuel. But as, owing to discoloration by the ash, the product did not come out absolutely white, it was found necessary to erect gas-fired kilns to get rid of this objection.

The first of these was a solitary shaft-kiln, built by Mr. Peiniger, a Continental expert on magnesite and kilns. This gentleman was a German by birth and an Austrian by domicile, and therefore, if alive, an enemy from either point of view; but, of course, it is impossible to say what has become of him. The magnesite for this kiln is hoisted up by a pulley and thrown down from the top through the shaft. There are receptacles in the masonry itself for the admission of air and the generation of coal-produced gas, and the air and the gas are passed through separate conduits to a combustion chamber, where they intermingle. The whole arrangement is compact and quite satisfactory. It takes on the average about 2.10 tons of crude magnesite to produce one ton of L.C. magnesia in this kiln. The  $\text{CO}_2$  driven off is unavoidably lost altogether—which is a pity. In the U.S.A., magnesite is calcined for the sake of the  $\text{CO}_2$ , which is caught in cylinders and used for the manufacture of soda-water, while the resultant magnesia is treated as a by-product and sold to the makers of firebricks. The consumption of coal expended in the production of the gas-fuel may be taken as one-fifth of a ton to every ton of L.C. produced. This kiln has an outlet of 250 tons per mensem.

To meet the enhanced demand for calcined magnesite, Mr. Peiniger was next entrusted with the construction of a group of three kilns for light calcination—a work which included a boiler to serve a 20-brake H.P. steam-engine, by which a revolving coal-fed gas generator is worked through the agency of shafting. This expensive combination was completed early in 1910. There is a main external conduit to convey the gas from the generator to the kilns, and another conduit for the air, which is forced by a fan through this independent conduit and distributed—as is the gas—to



each kiln separately, there to combine in a combustion chamber.

Owing to the great heat developed in the generator, which tends to fuse the bell that regulates the coal supply—it has, in point of fact, fused one bell—it is not found convenient to work more than two kilns of the group at the same time. However, a good deal of spare power is made use of by driving a grinding-mill.

The kilns are loaded from above with magnesite, which is railed to them at the necessary level, thus all direct hoisting is avoided. It takes about twenty-four hours for the material to pass through the kiln and two hours through the zone of greatest heat, when the carbon dioxide is driven off. The maximum temperature ever attained is  $1000^{\circ}$  C. ; but it is generally reckoned at from  $700^{\circ}$  to  $900^{\circ}$  C. The purer the magnesium carbonate, the higher the temperature required.

In any kiln of this group a ton of L.C. is produced at a general expenditure of 2·3 tons of crude magnesite. And the consumption of coal is 0·07 tons in the boiler and 0·23 tons in the generator—total 0·3 tons of coal to every ton of L.C. produced. Two kilns working simultaneously have an output of 400 tons a month. The magnesia is sold in the lump and also ground, according to buyers' requirements. The lump is in demand for chemical works. It is also used for the manufacture of firebricks in lieu of dead-burnt, which is very difficult to get, if not altogether unobtainable. Of course the acceptance of L.C. for D.B. entails recalcination on the part of the manufacturers ; but they put up with this rather than do without the material altogether—especially in these days when basic furnaces are in great request for the output of munitions of war. The ground magnesia, in combination with magnesium chloride in solution, is used for floorings as mentioned above. It is necessary to sort all caustic magnesia soon after production, for a considerable portion of it will be found to be under-burnt on coming out of the kiln, owing to the magnesite

being entirely, or almost entirely, free from iron oxide. Where the iron oxide figures as one of the salient impurities, as in the case of the Styrian magnesite, the difficulty is to guard against *overburning*. So much of the caustic magnesia as has to be ground is passed between two 4 feet 6 inches diameter mill stones laid horizontally, of which the lower one revolves. These stones grind the material fine enough to leave considerably less than a 3 per cent. residue on an 120-mesh sieve, and an output of half a ton per hour is derivable from one pair.

Lump L.C. is packed in single bags, and ground L.C. in double bags-- or occasionally casks--for exportation. The crude magnesite is exported in bulk.

A gold medal was awarded for Salem magnesite at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904; at the Franco-British (Paris) Exposition of 1908; and at the San Francisco in 1915.

There are approximately 1,700 coolies employed regularly on the works, and arrangements have been made to increase this number by building lines for some of the criminal classes for whom the Madras Government want to find employment.

Although India is an agricultural country, it has vast mineral resources, many of which remain to be developed. Even in Bundelkhand—which, as Mr. Henry Marsh told us in a paper read under the auspices of the East India Association last May, is dependent entirely on agriculture, and is now well watered, thanks to Mr. Marsh himself--there are deposits of iron ore, diamonds (in Panna), and copper. It might materially contribute to the welfare of Bundelkhand if operations in that region were extended to the development of its mineral wealth, as, in point of fact, the manganese industry has contributed, and still contributes, to the welfare of the Central Provinces. At the different mines owned by the Central Provinces Prospecting Syndicate alone no less than 6,000 coolies obtain regular employment all the year round. And there are, besides, other mines in the Central Provinces where much labour is

employed. The manganese mines in Vizianagram locality represent another case in point. Again, there are the Kolar gold-fields, and various mines in Mysore which benefit the Province enormously. And now we hear of the wolfram boom in Burma. But such operations as these are the outcome of private enterprise. In developing the innate resources of India public enterprise is practically confined to agriculture, to which end vast sums have been spent (and advantageously spent) on the construction of magnificent works of irrigation. Perhaps the time has arrived for the hidden treasures of the land to be considered, and if the welfare of the people of India is to be insured to the fullest extent the mineral resources, as well as the irrigation resources, should be exploited to the fullest extent.

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## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, October 17, 1916, a paper was read by Mr. C. H. B. Burlton, entitled "The Magnesite Mines of India." Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., was in the chair. The following among others were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir G. Forbes, K.C.S.I., Sir Murray Hamnrick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir William Duke, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Hay Currie, Lieut. Colonel S. H. Godfrey, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel Gaultier, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Carkeet James, Mr. E. Benedict, Mr. R. E. Ellis, Mr. Willock, Mr. M. H. Kedevai, Mr. Ahmad Salach Din, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. I. S. Haji, Mr. J. Khanna, Mr. C. F. Tufnell, Rev. R. Evans Mills, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, Mr. J. S. Thornton, Miss Dunderdale, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Johnstone, Mrs. Burlton, Miss Burlton, Mrs. Collis, Mr. Edwardes, Mr. H. G. Turner, Mr. R. Walton, Mr. K. K. Mathua, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. Jordan Adams, Mrs. Salwey, Mrs. Salwey White, Mr. Dains, Mrs. Nash, Miss Gore-Langton, Rev. W. L. Broadbent, Mrs. White, Mr. J. Lee-Warner, and Mr. J. B. Pennington, acting Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, if I have any disqualifications for occupying this chair—and I am sure I have many—the chief is that I know nothing about magnesite; let me own up at once. But I have one qualification, and that is that, having suffered under many chairmen myself, and having often occupied the position to-day occupied by my friend Mr. Burlton, I realize that you have come here to listen to him and not to me, therefore I only propose to say a few words on the importance of this subject at the present time. We have an Industrial Commission now perambulating India, with the intention of finding out and developing new industries. We have a new Viceroy, who has just made the speech of a man after my own heart, in which he has dwelt upon the industrial development of India rather than upon so-called political ambitions. I think all present will agree with me that

industrial development is what India wants, and that nothing can be of more importance than the question of the export thence of raw materials. That is a question which this Industrial Commission will discuss and which the Imperial Commission will have to consider, and we have it on the authority of Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Asquith that India will be represented on the latter body, and it is the business of some of us to see that she is adequately represented.

Now Mr. Burlton himself, whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for a great many years, is one of those Cooper's Hill engineers who have gone to India to cover it with great works, those great works which are perhaps the chief monument of our rule in that country; and he has been associated, and is now associated, and particularly in regard to this chemical substance, this raw product, which is the subject of the lecture, with Mr. Henry Gribble Turner, than whom I think no living man has done more to develop the industrial resources of India (Hear, hear) Mr. Turner is one of those rare individuals who, although he has been an official, has retained that power of initiative which an official career, if it does not strangle, at any rate does not tend to develop. He is the kind of man who, if he sees a range of mountains, wonders what will grow there and proceeds to grow it; if he travels in a district he wonders what is in the ground, and if there is anything there he gets it out. He is the man who obtained the concession for this magnesite. He is the man who has introduced the manganese industry into Southern and Central India, so important for munitions at the present moment, and indeed at all times; and, thinking that all raw products required railways to carry them, it was his fertile mind which conceived the idea of the East Coast Railway, with its branches, and it is he who has done so much now to develop India and actually to discover and to develop this present industry about which Mr. Burlton will tell us to-day.

Lest I should offend in a way in which, I assure you, as I told you when I began, I never do offend, I will not say another word, but will now call upon Mr. Burlton to give us his lecture.

The Lecturer delivered his lecture illustrated by photographs, and at the close added that he hoped that steps would be taken by the medical authorities to deal with a disease called hook-worm.

The CHAIRMAN—Ladies and gentlemen, we have had a most interesting lecture from Mr. Burlton. I am sure you will all agree. A good deal of it was rather above me, but where he came off his scientific perch and came down to the intellectual level of those who are scientifically uninformed, I myself picked up a great deal of information, and I have no doubt others present did, if there are any of you who are as wanting in scientific knowledge as I am. It is extremely interesting to learn that magnesite is used for the floors of railway carriages and the decks of ships, and from those

purposes condescends to be used for the making of Epsom salts, and also of emery boards for the nice trimming of dainty nails. That is a very wide area of usefulness, and I should think few scientific substances can beat it. I think myself, now that it is all over, that Mr. Burlton was distinctly out of order in talking about the hook-worm, because there is no connection between the hook-worm and the magnesite, unless it be that the labourers at the magnesite mines have not got it; and as they have not got it, I hope he will be able to succeed in keeping it away from them as long as those mines exist. The pictures that Mr. Burlton showed you, those barren-looking districts which he marked out with his pointer, which he wields as accurately as he does a shot-gun (and that means a great deal, I can tell you), are being made at present to blossom like the rose, owing to the enterprise of Mr. H. G. Turner. You do not see the rose. It is an industrial rose, but of more value locally than if it were the fresh, fragrant, and dew-drenched rose of Sharon.

I made a few remarks before, consequently I do not mean to trespass on your attention by repeating them, or adding much to them, but I think I should say, with reference to the concluding remarks in Mr. Burlton's printed paper, that it does seem of the utmost importance that the assistance of Government should be invoked for the development of new industries like this. Mr. Burlton referred to the tea industry, which, of course, has created modern Assam, and to the Kolar gold mines, which have been the saving of part of Malabar and Mysore. He also referred to wolfram. I remember when we were all looking for wolfram in Saxony. I hope we shall never do that again, and that we shall get it all from Burmah. Then, we know what happened in Travancore, where the deposits of monazite which are very useful for the purpose of making incandescent mantles and for many other scientific purposes were nominally possessed by an English company, the whole capital of which was held by Germans. Now we want the Government to come in very strongly, and to make that sort of thing impossible, and to assist real British enterprise for the production of raw products like this magnesite, and I hope, Sir Arundel, that your Society will think proper to send a copy of the proceedings of this day to Sir Thomas Holland, who is conducting the industrial survey of India, so that he may know what has happened here and may take it into account. I will give a copy to the Secretary of State, and could dispose with advantage of three copies if kindly supplied.

Mr. Burlton said that I had taken the wind out of his sails by making a few remarks about our friend Mr. Henry Gribble Turner. Well, I do not think I did. All honour to Mr. Turner. It is he who has made this Salem desert blossom like a rose. It is Mr. Turner's enterprise that has set this industry upon its satisfactory

footing. It was a great gratification to me to learn that as he is exceptional in his initiative and in the services that he has rendered to India, so he is also exceptional in having honour in his own country; and that the other day, when he went to Vizagapatam, the inhabitants rose like one man and called him blessed, and presented him with an address, which he must have been very proud to receive, and upon the receipt of which I am sure we all heartily congratulate him.

I could go on talking for some time, but I will not, and I will now call upon any gentleman present, who desires to do so, to speak on the subject of the lecture. According to the rules of this Society, speakers are asked to hand up their cards and not to speak for more than ten minutes; but before receiving any card I am sure you would all like to hear Mr. Turner, if he will kindly make a few remarks upon the lecture.

MR. HENRY GRIBBLE TURNER, who was received with applause, said that he had been asked by several people to state how it was he had obtained his knowledge of the magnesite deposits in Salem. The answer was that he found the knowledge in a library. He was reading once in the library of the Madras Club the proceedings of a very well-known institution, and amongst those he suddenly came across a description of the magnesite deposits in Salem. Thereupon he went into the matter, and went down to Salem and saw the deposits, and obtained concessions of them from the Government and from several other proprietors there. Having got those concessions, he went very nearly all over the world to find out whether they were of any advantage. One of the first places that he went to was the Sorbonne at Paris; and the Professor there said: "Your stuff looks very good, but I do not think it is; however, I will try it." He put it into an electric furnace and turned on his current and said: "Now, sir, you will see that your magnesite will disappear." After the current had been on for some time the Professor looked again into the receptacle and said: "By George! it has not disappeared; there it is." When the Professor was asked for the reason of this he said that it was because of its great purity; he said it was the purest magnesite he had ever had anything to do with. After that the speaker went to some fishing in Norway, and adjacent to the fishing was a very fine waterfall. He harnessed the waterfall, and got some of the magnesite from India and put it up there under the electric arc which was generated by the waterfall. There again the magnesite exhibited its extraordinary refractory qualities. The speaker then took it over to New York and showed it to Mr. Edison, who said that he had been practising with magnesite all his life, and had never seen any which stood such a high temperature as that which had been given to him as coming from India. Afterwards the speaker went down to Chester, where they imported the magnesite from Styria, and, as the Lecturer had

told them, they got the carbon dioxide out, which they used for manufacturing soda-water, and the residue they turned into bricks. After that the speaker travelled to a great many places and exhibited magnesite; and in San Francisco, where he was last year, he exhibited both manganese and magnesite, and was awarded a gold medal. He wrote and said he was very much obliged to hear that they had given him a gold medal, and was quite prepared to receive it whenever they would send it on. They said: "No; we have said your stuff is worth a gold medal. If you want a gold medal you will have to pay for it yourself." That was so with all exhibitions; whenever they gave a gold medal they said: "We mean it is worth a gold medal, but if you want one you must go and buy it yourself." The speaker said he would not extol his own merits, because they had been sufficiently extolled by the Chairman and the Lecturer; but in conclusion he would say that he had been in business for twenty-six years, ever since he left the Indian Civil Service, and had profited, not on his own merits, but owing to the merits of the men who had been associated with him.

The magnesite business is now in the hands of the Magnesite Syndicate, Ltd., whose office is at Winchester House, Old Broad Street, London. The managing director is Mr. H. H. Davis, a gentleman of great chemical and business attainments. Other directors are Mr. Burlton, whose lecture we have just heard, and Mr. Russell, who has had great local knowledge of the deposits and has lingual connections with countries in Europe and South America which enable us to do business in those connections. But what we want is markets in India and the East, and we look to the India Office to afford us facilities for pushing the business in those parts.

THE CHAIRMAN—As no other speaker wishes to address the meeting on the subject of the lecture, and nobody has offered any criticism thereon, there is nothing to which the lecturer can reply.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL, K.C.S.I., rose to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Burlton for his lecture, which was full of information of an extremely recondite kind, and they were much indebted to him for the trouble he had taken in preparing it. The speaker wished also to include in the vote of thanks Sir John Rees for his kindness in taking the chair. He would also like to associate himself with the remarks which had been made with regard to the value of Mr. Turner's services to India as a pioneer of industry. Years ago the speaker had an opportunity of urging that particular view when he was up in the north of India. The details of what Mr. Turner had done had been mentioned both by the Chairman and by the Lecturer. He also entirely concurred with what Sir John Rees had said of the value of the Industrial Commission which was now in India under the extremely able chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holland, who formerly held with exceptional ability and



distinction the headship of the Department of Geological Survey in India.

Mr. PENNINGTON said that he had very much pleasure in seconding the votes of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer in the unfortunate absence of the Secretary of the Association.

Mr. BURLTON: Gentlemen, I thank you very much for your kind reception of my paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind vote of thanks.

## PICTURES FROM RUSSIA IN WAR-TIME

### THE ST. ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL OF PETROGRAD

BY SONIA E. HOWE.

NOT crowded in, like St. Paul's, not far away from the centre of the city, like St. Peter's, but in the centre and yet standing on a free and open space, alone by itself—thus the visitor to Petrograd beholds the great cathedral of St. Isaac's. It is a beautiful building, in its perfect proportions, with its granite pillars, its relief carvings, the giant angels in the corners of the roof, the gilded cupolas and the fine dome, all strike the onlooker as beautiful and noble. Within the cathedral there is beauty and wealth, and an air of solemnity reigns even at times when no service is being celebrated. Even the idle sightseer treads softly as he enters the lofty church, for it is essentially a place to pray in, not merely to admire men's skill and art. There are the wonderful pillars of lapis-lazuli and of malachite, and the *ensemble* of gilt and blue and green gives a very vivid living impression. The large pictures between the pillars, behind which form the sanctuary screen, are all in mosaic, as indeed every other picture in this church. The original paintings have been replaced by mosaics, and the academician who carefully added piece to piece felt content in doing his work, for "was it not for eternity"?

It is on Saturday evenings that the most perfect music is rendered in St. Isaac's, and evensong attracts not merely worshippers, but many lovers of music. There were, how-

ever, not many people there when I visited the cathedral on a Saturday evening, but those who were there had come to pray. Hearts are sad and heavy at present, and the dear ones out at the front must be entrusted to the protection of the Lord. Many wax tapers are burning before the holy ikons, each candle representing the prayer of some loving soul. I have seen them pray—mothers, sweethearts and wives—have seen their lips move, and their breasts heave in earnest pleading. The almost passionate way in which the one or the other signed herself with the sign of the cross, or prostrated herself, told of anguish—anguish hardly endurable. Oh! the war and its terrible sacrifices of life. “For men must fight and women must weep” seems to be the motto of the present day. But they are worthy of their men in bravery; and if the Russian women weep, when pouring their hearts out before God, they also take their share in the brunt of the battle. It is they who work on the fields and gather in the harvests, and who fill the places vacated by their men-folk. It is the Soldatka, the soldier’s wife, who has to keep things going while her man is out in far-away Khranzia, as they call France, or on the North-West or the distant Caucasian front. I have seen not only women come and pray in St. Isaac’s, but officers and men, Cossacks and infantry, sailors and airmen. They come to plead in prayer even at times when there is no service. There is no false shame about them; and not in crowds, but individually they come up to the sacred image, prostrate themselves before it, kiss it, or merely put the wax taper into the large candelabra. I have also seen soldiers from the distant parts of the Empire walk quietly about, awed by the beauty and grandeur of the cathedral, and studying its beautiful pictures. Solemnity and reality, these are the two impressions the visitor to St. Isaac’s takes away with him.

## ARMENIA'S LULLABY\*

BY ARCHAG TCHOBANIAN

THOU sittest at the crossing of the ways ;  
 The snow upon thy tresses falls and stays ;  
 The wounds are festering that cover thee ;  
 Thy blood-shot eyes are like a crimson sea.

What evil Fate hath woven thus thy thread ?  
 Who, seeing thee thus prostrate, would have said  
 That thou wast once a maiden fair and bright- -  
 A maid with conquering eyes of shining light ?

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The brigands of the world all longed for thee,  
 And thou wast sought by many an enemy.  
 Long did'st thou fight and spurn them, till, at length,  
 They laid thee on the ground, shorn of thy strength.

Thy soul was fertile, virtuous and mild,  
 Amidst destruction's powers, fierce and wild ;  
 And thou hast caused new germs to come to birth  
 Thy fingers called forth beauty from the earth.

For thou wast Anahit, the peaceful-eyed,  
 The Golden Mother, brilliant in thy pride.  
 Thy bosom poured forth plenty ; light thine eyes ;  
 Sweet lips thou had'st—hands that could all devise.

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How brave thou wast, how lovely in thy pain !  
 Beneath thy woes how bright thou did'st remain !  
 How did'st thou break thy yokes and bondage sore !  
 How oft from death did'st thou arise once more !

\* Translated from the Armenian by Zabelle C. Boyajian.

Thine eyes for light and knowledge ever yearned ;  
Thy daring mind still to the New World turned.  
For centuries unaided thou did'st strive  
Asia's wild hordes back to their source to drive.

The torrent grew, and felled thee with its might—  
Quenched with its waves thy flame that shone so bright ;  
There, in the darkness, soiled with many a stain,  
Fallen, but living still, thou did'st remain.

At night the cross on many an ancient tomb  
Would seem to live and move, while through the gloom  
The heroes of Mount Ararat would shine,  
Their eyes aflame with fire and wrath divine.

And distant drum-beats sounded in the air ;  
Then, trembling, thou didst turn awhile to hear,  
And gazed upon the mountains wistfully ;  
But dull and frosty silence answered thee.

And one day, in an agony of pain,  
A cry of anguish thou could'st not restrain :—  
The world was deaf to thee, and thou wast left,  
To Savage Force, of all thy hopes bereft.

Among the burning flames wild spirits leapt ;  
They seared thy heart, tore out thine eyes that wept.  
And thou wast driven forth beneath the blast—  
Naked upon the blood and ashes cast.

Thou sittest now, a spectre wan and white.  
Ruin and desolation mark thy plight ;  
Thy fearful wounds the icy blizzard stings,  
And from thy blue-cold bosom blood-drops wrings.

Thou weapest, swaying slowly to and fro,  
Crooning a gentle lullaby and low,  
To lull thy sons—some fallen by thy side,  
Some to the winds of heaven scattered wide.

To all those lives cut short a lullaby ;  
To those bright eyes, that now in darkness lie ;  
To those who live, and are in suffering still -  
Who exiled roam, or loathsome dungeons fill.

Enough, enough ; that lullaby is death.  
Enough ; for other songs we need our breath !  
Revenge and hope from hence our songs shall fill - -  
Songs that shall reach the dead, and make them thrill !

Enough of grief ; look up, and weep no more.  
Suffering is blessed ; noble, though 'tis sore ;  
The sacrifice beneath the cross is great,  
And morn is woven in the night of fate.

They that did wrong thee, and thy children slay,  
Like dust shall disappear, and melt away.  
And from the ashes thou shalt rise once more,  
Chastened by sorrow, brighter than before.

Weep not, thy wind-tossed tresses all unbound ;  
Weep not, thy piteous head bowed to the ground.  
Know thou thyself ; collect thy strength dispelled -  
Enough the stranger's house thou hast upheld !

To our dead brothers peaceful sleep, and sound.  
Arise and bless us ; spread thy wings around -  
Thy mighty wings, and let our life and soul  
Be offered thee : thyself our only goal.

Triumphant from the ashes thou shalt rise ;  
Like radiant stars shall shine with light thine eyes ;  
Thy wounds shall turn to roses, sweet and fair ;  
Light shall stream forth from thy long, snowy hair.

Then shalt thou at the crossing of the ways,  
Shatter the might that tyranny displays !  
Arise ! thy mighty travail life shall give.  
O Mother, in thy womb a world doth live !

## THE HISTORIC ISOLATION OF RUSSIA

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART

To understand Russia and to understand why it has been in the past and is to a great extent in the present so different from the rest of Europe one must study its history. There one finds the reason for the difference, the causes of its isolation, its different social system, its autocratic rule, and it is these causes which we will now try to consider. Let us divide this consideration into five heads: (1) The early Byzantine civilization and (2) autocracy; (3) the Tatar conquest; (4) the isolation of Russia; and (5) serfage; and regard them one by one and then together, and we will then see how Russia has been cut off from the West, and how she has hardly yet been entirely joined on to it.

When the Varangian princes, the Northmen, Rurik, his brothers and his near kin, settled themselves among the Slav tribes of the north of Russia in the ninth century they were still pagans. They adopted the nature worship of those round them; worshipped Perun, the god of thunder, and other Slav gods during their turbulent and spacious lives. It was St. Olga, the wife of Rurik's son Igor, when "her thirst for vengeance was at last satisfied," who turned "her thoughts to religion, and was the first Russian princess to embrace Christianity," which she did by being baptized in the church of St. Sophia at Byzantium, A.D. 957. This was the first step towards the long separation of Russia from the West, and the link once formed with Byzantium

was made much closer by the conversion of her grandson Vladímir. He became sole ruler of Russia, with Kiev as his capital, and, after flirting with Islam and Judaism, having sent an embassy to inquire into the Christian religion as practised at Byzantium and received an ecstatic reply, became a Christian also, and having married the Greek Princess Anne, introduced as many Greek practices to his Court as he was able before his death in 1015.

*Bon gré mal gré* Vladímir had converted his people to Christianity of the Eastern Rite—that ancient form of Christianity which preserves with high spirituality an unyielding spirit of conservatism in ritual, and which is unwilling to persecute heretics, but is terrible when conversion of any of its adherents is attempted. This separated the Russians from the Bohemians and Poles, devoted to the Roman Catholic form of Christianity, and later, by the inclusion of the Lithuanians in the Polish kingdom, limited their religious supremacy to Russia itself, and made it a country apart, with no exits save through Byzantium, hostile lands, or northward through the inhospitable White Sea. Although Byzantium had a considerable culture of its own, and Russia borrowed what it could of this—including absolute autocracy of its monarchs and the quasi seclusion of women in the *Terem*—it became rapidly useless as a link with Western Europe owing to the swift conquest of the Eastern Empire by the Mussulman Osmanli Turk, which culminated in the capture of Byzantium by the Turks in 1453. This left the whole of the Eastern Church at the mercy of the Turkish conqueror, and not only crystallised it into an archaic form, but made it of no use for spreading the light of education. Long before this, however, Russia had suffered from a great eclipse, a second reason which prevented it from receiving Western influences and which made it the most remote of European Christian communities; this was the Tatar conquest. The historian Waliszewski points out how this blighted Russia. Of the old Byzantine



Russia of the eleventh century he says : " These Dukes of Kiev have no need to seek their wives within their subjects' *terems*. Jaroslav espouses a Swede, Ingegard, the daughter of King Olaf. He marries his sister to King Casimir of Poland ; one of his sons, Vsievolod, to the daughter of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus of Byzantium. . . . His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, weds King Harold of Norway ; the third, Anastasia, King Andreas I. of Hungary. Three Bishops . . . come to Kief in 1048 to ask the hand of the second daughter, Anne, for Henry I. of France." All this intercourse and this nascent system of matrimonial alliances with the West came to an end by the conquest of Russia by the Tatars. Baty and his Mongol ordas or hordes swept over the Eastern Slavs in 1224, and Russia was a prisoner in the hands of the Tatars for nearly three hundred years.

Pagans when they entered Russia, the Tatars became Moslems in 1272. They were not intolerant, and not great proselytizers ; but they were Moslems, and Christian Russia was enslaved by them. The Russian word for peasant is still *kryestyan'cen*, which shows to what humility the Russians were reduced. Although the Tatar allowed the Russian princes much liberty, they were forced to visit the Tatar Orda of their suzerain, and also to receive from him the *iarlikh*, or letter of nomination, with which alone they could play the autocrat in their own principalities. Their subjects were drawn on for the Tatar army ; their princes were married to Tatar princesses. Thus, in 1318, the Grand Prince George Danielovitch, of Moscow, was married to Kontchaka, sister of Uzbek-Khan, who became a Christian under the name of Agatha. Probably such marriages were more frequent than is now remembered, and the mingling of the peoples more usual than the modern Russian will admit, and this no doubt accounts for many non-Western customs. Certainly the descendants of the Tatar khans, when conquered by Russia finally, were easily absorbed, and their names are found among the chief families of the

Russian noblesse, and in great consideration. The Tatars, by segregating Russia, forced it to be either more Oriental or else purely Byzantine. They made it so different from the West that Russia refused intercourse with it, and had no inclination towards its culture. Hence there were before the reign of Ivan III. hardly any envoys sent to Western Europe from the new State of Moscow, even when it had emancipated itself from the humble title of "Servant of the Khan." No Russian was allowed to leave his Tsar's dominions without the consent of his sovereign under pain of death, and an embassy to a foreign country was only sent on the most rare and pressing occasions, and under the most rigid and inflexible instructions. Personal insecurity in his long-suffering Tsardom inspired several of Ivan the Terrible's embassies to Queen Elizabeth, but as a general rule most of the diplomatic correspondence with the West, which became more and more necessary after the Romanov dynasty was secure on the throne, was carried on through foreigners, better educated than the Russians, and therefore trusted by them in spite of their alien birth. This trust in foreigners has had a curious effect in Russian history. Peter the Great, who with his sword opened Russia to the West with hardly more hesitation and fear of consequences than if he had been opening an oyster with an oyster-knife, had to trust for his instruction to foreigners. He had the Genevese Lefort, the Scottish Gordons and Bruces, the German Munich. He employed Scots on his Eastern embassies, and employed the Jews Shafirof and Dervier. In the reign of his third successor, Anna Ivanovna, the foreign rule became that of the dreaded Bironovchtchina, called after her hated favourite, the German Buren. With Elizabeth Petrovna the Court was Russian under French culture; under the German-born Catherine II. Russian, with an underlying German political element, which allowed French to be the language of the Court and even of this Empress, but which never fostered higher Russian culture. This

veiled influence was continued under the Emperors Paul and Alexander I., that disciple of Mme. de Krüdener, and is still, though in abeyance, one of the most difficult problems of the Russian future; as, fostered for three centuries, the chief medium of the culture of the Baltic provinces, and supported by every Russian Jew, it is by no means negligible even yet, and is a difficult element to absorb, as the German is the definite opponent of the Slav in every manner of thought and habit of life. •

But though Peter the Great and his successors, by opening "a window into Europe," no doubt gave many opportunities for Teutonic and especially Prussian influence over their Slav subjects, always easy going and slow to move in search of Western "progress," there was a condition in Russia without a parallel in Western Europe, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to which many social peculiarities can still be traced, and this was *serfage*, which was abolished only in 1861.

Originally foreign to Russia, the system by which a peasant was attached to the land and sold with it was a "reform" introduced by the Regent Boris Godounov, in 1592, during the reign of the feeble Feodor Ivanovitch. No doubt the system existed in many other Christian countries, but in none did it become so rooted and endure so long as in Russia. The serf, or "soul," was later regarded as a piece of merchandise. When Casanova wished to buy a female serf in 1765, he was told: "You become her owner, and you can, if she runs away, have her brought back, unless she repays the 100 roubles you have paid for her. . . ." "And if," said Casanova, "I leave Petersburg, can I force her to come with me?" "No, unless you have first obtained permission, for the girl, in becoming your serf, does not cease in the first place to be the serf of the Empress."

This absolute power, so lately removed from the land-owning class in Russia, has undoubtedly left traces. The old boyars had their crest lowered by Ivan the Terrible.

Peter the Great further reduced them, and the Feudal System had never any real footing in Russia. At the one end of the social pinnacle was the Autocrat by whose power everybody beneath him could be made powerful or mere dust; at the other end the serf absolutely dependent on his or her master, who might be of Slav blood akin to his own. This system has led to a puzzling condition of equality, apathy, and philosophy all through Russia, which has been helped no doubt by the sudden rises and falls which went hand in hand with the old autocratic rule, when, as Horace Walpole expressed it, Siberia was "next the drawing-room." Princesse Lieven mentions in 1802 with no apparent surprise the marriage of a Count Cheremetyev with "une de ses esclaves. . . . Elle vient de mourir ces jours-ci et a été enterrée avec toute la pompe imaginable"; and Peter the Great showed that no rank should count without the Emperor's favour by instituting the Tschin, or "Table of Ranks," which fixed the courtiers' precedence by his official rank; and indicated how little he regarded birth by choosing Menshikoff to be his heart-brother, although he had begun life selling meat-pies (*pirogi*) in the streets. It is this continual change of fortune that has made Russian social history so puzzling. It has given to it in the past an unreal brilliancy and a very real unrest. Russian culture, for long flouted by the Germanized bureaucracy, was distrusted when it began to develop. It was regarded as a relic of barbaric or unwelcome times. Only now is it beginning to have full force, and when a great Slav revival is taking place all over the countries where Slavonic languages are spoken, who doubts but that the Russian people, secluded and enslaved by circumstances as they have been in the past, will yet show themselves to have a glorious and far-reaching culture all their own, and already only partially developed, which will help to revivify and restore the down-trodden races of a similar origin, now languishing under the hostile heel of the Central Powers.

## THE RUSSIAN HOSPITAL IN LONDON

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

“ To suffer is to understand,  
To understand is to love !

A CHARMING portrait of Her Majesty the Queen Alexandra and our Empress Marie Feodorovna is to be found in a book just published in London, the two august sisters holding each other by the hand. The signature is no less delightful than the picture—“*Les Deux Sœurs et les Deux Pays Unis*”—and it is most gratifying to think that this beautiful union manifests itself in many ways.

Day by day our two peoples seem to understand and appreciate each other more closely, and the bonds of friendship that unite them are constantly being strengthened both by circumstances and by tireless well-wishers and workers in the good cause. Among the latter, a high place must be accorded to Monsieur and Madame de Mouravieff Apostol, who have just presented to the English military authorities a magnificently equipped hospital in London, to be called St. Mary's Russian Hospital for British Officers. The hospital is under the immediate patronage of H.I.M. the Empress Marie Fedorovna, in whose honour it is named. It will accommodate fifty wounded officers, and both work and money have been lavishly spent to surround them with every care. There are five resident professional sisters, and twenty voluntary nurses, who, as is customary in English war hospitals, will, under the direction of a *commandante*, take charge of the entire work of the estab-

lishment—*i. e.*, nursing as well as housework. Women of the working classes being mostly at present employed in munition factories and in other occupations that men have left vacant on being sent to the front, domestic servants are scarce and unsatisfactory. Ladies of the upper classes, therefore, have cheerfully and competently taken their places in all the private, and many of the public, military hospitals.

The Russian hospital was most auspiciously opened a few days ago by the Prime Minister, in the presence of the Grand Duke Michael, the Russian Ambassador, Count Beckendorff, and an elegant and representative Anglo-Russian assemblage.

An altar had been temporarily arranged on the spacious first-floor landing of the splendid London mansion lent for the period of the war by Sir Berkeley and Lady Sheffield, and here a religious service was held by the Russian Embassy Chaplain. The guests had assembled on the landing, and all the nurses, grouped upwards on the broad staircase, formed a picturesque background as of white veiled nuns with red crosses.

After the service, Mr. Asquith made an interesting speech, thanking Monsieur and Madame Mouravieff-Apostol heartily for their generous gift, and expressing the conviction that the links of friendship now binding our two nations together will forge themselves into a chain that will be lasting and indestructible.

The speech was enthusiastically received by all present, after which the hospital was inspected, and then tea was served smilingly and gaily by the voluntary nurses.

The wards and all the arrangements are in every way the last word as to comfort and luxury. Everywhere is a sense of light and brightness and space. White enamelled beds, screens and coverlets of a charming cornflower blue, fires burning gaily in the huge grates, everything spotless and sparkling, and everywhere masses of flowers. There is a splendidly fitted operating theatre, an X-ray installa-

tion, numberless bath-rooms, the most elegant and comfortable of recreation rooms for the convalescent, in fact nothing seems to have been left undone. The staff and doctors are all English, with the exception of three Russian voluntary nurses. Dr. Gould-May, the doctor in charge, worked for some time in the Anglo-Russian hospital in Petrograd.

It is indeed most sincerely that one can say "God speed" to this new enterprise; and, more especially as English doctors and nurses have, since the outbreak of the war, done such splendid work in Russia, it is certain that all Russian hearts will go out in sympathy and good-will to our compatriots, Monsieur and Madame Mouraviëff-Apostol, who have had the generous and charming idea of founding a Russian hospital in London. After the war, by the way, they have decided to remove the hospital to permanent quarters, and thus to endow, in remembrance of the great struggle we fought out side by side, a lasting gift of friendship to the English people.

There is a very touching feature about the hospital wards: three of these are called respectively after three great Russian saints—"Faith," "Hope," and "Love."

To me there was a very pathetic side in this notable and touching gathering. There stood before me the two representatives of two great powers—the Russian Ambassador and the Prime Minister of England. These two were united by the same terrible sorrow. Each of them has lost a beloved son in the war. Another Russian ambassador, now in Rome, Monsieur de Giers, had the same misfortune in the Japanese War, and how many more such cases could one quote! I could not help thinking of this, when I remembered that some people are inclined to think that our representative classes are not eager to make great personal sacrifices for the defence of their countries.

No, the grandeur of this war is that the countries are not united only by political and commercial ties. The real link

is their voluntary sacrifices, their sorrows and devotion to their duty.

I wonder whether such ties are not the noblest and strongest we can have? Sacrifices are needed and are made, but all the classes, the wealthiest and the poorest, the highest and the humblest, actually represent the real Christian brotherhood.

It may be added that this hospital has been graciously honoured by a long visit from the King, the Queen, Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria, who showed great interest in this work, and allowed a group to be taken in commemoration of the visit.



## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

### A NEW LIGHT ON RUSSIA \*

"You know my feelings with regard to England. What I have told you before I say again: it was intended that the two countries should be upon terms of close amity, and I feel sure that this will continue to be the case; and I repeat that it is very essential that the two Governments should be on the best of terms, and the necessity was never greater than at present" (Emperor Nicholas I. to Sir Henry Seymour).

The Emperor Nicholas I. was the originator of the Entente between England and Russia. Could he have ever supposed that his work, unrealized by his officials of the time, would be continued with such perseverance and success by his godchild? Whoever wants to realize this fact must read Madame Novikoff's "Russian Memories."

At the beginning of her chapter on the Emperor Nicholas I., the author explains how the idea of an Entente with England and France was encouraged in the Emperor's lifetime by the sending of three leading scientists to study the geological features of the Russian Empire.

"Sir Roderick Murchison, M. de Verneuil, and Count Alexander Keyserling were appointed by their respective Governments to make a joint expedition, and, as a result of their labours, wrote a book entitled 'The Geology of Russia in Europe and the Urals,' which was published by the British Museum in 1845 in two volumes. This was

\* "Russian Memories," by Olga Novikoff. Jenkins, 10s. 6d. net.

indeed a promising beginning, and may be said to have been the precursor for much co-operation between these nations long before an Entente was within the sphere of practical politics."

But we regret to have to add that this noble and statesmanlike example was not always followed; and Madame Olga Novikoff shows how, on the contrary, she received much discouragement both at home and in Chesham Place. Prince Gortschakoff, the Chancellor of Russia, actually suggested to her not to *mention* the word "Slavs," and Count Shouvaloff here almost paralyzed her good work. It was only with the arrival of Baron de Staal that matters took a slightly better turn, and, to quote her words, "the Baron was not afraid to show me publicly his sympathy and support." It may be added that in his view Madame Novikoff was often better informed than he of what the Russian Government was thinking of doing; she also received a tribute from Prince Lobanoff, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, who wrote to her: "I admire your courageous perseverance in dealing with Messieurs les Anglais, and I am very grateful for the assistance that you render us."

But if, in official quarters, she did not always receive the encouragement she deserved, she numbered among her friends and co-workers many whose names are now on the page of history.

There is a very vivid description, which must be read by everyone, and should be always remembered for its quite exceptional character. We mean the great St. James's Hall Conference, organized under the superintendence of Mr. Gladstone himself in favour of the orthodox Slavs in Turkey. Of those very dark and gloomy days at the end of 1878 she writes: "I have been described by my brother Alexander as maintaining a persevering, although a forlorn, struggle in the interests of peace. It may have been a really good cause, but it was almost a forlorn one. For a woman to endeavour to paralyze two

nations who seem determined to misunderstand each other was a folly which, had I been more versed in the ways of the political world, I might have never attempted. Out of my ignorance came my strength, for I dared to hope things at a period when hope was not quoted on the political exchange."

Of great abiding interest also are the pages describing Mr. Gladstone's interest in the Old Catholic Movement, and the controversy raised by Count Keyserling\* at the time: "The Old Testament knows no Immortality." The identity of the author of the pamphlet is now revealed for the first time. We cannot refrain from quoting the passage from a letter she received from Mr. Gladstone on this subject.

"Nor can we forget that the Mosaic dispensation, coming as it were upon the back of the old patriarchal religion, being essentially national, was also predominantly temporal, and tended very powerfully to throw the idea of the future state into the shade. Nevertheless it is, I think, generally admitted that, while in certain passages the Psalmist speaks of it either despairingly or doubtfully, in some Psalms the subject is approached with a vivid and glowing belief; as when, for example, it is said: 'When I awake up after Thy likeness I shall be satisfied with it.' You know how much upon some occasions I have both sympathized with and admired your authorship. I do not dissuade you from following up the task to which you are now drawn."

Space does not permit of more than a mere mention of the names of Sir Henry C. Bannerman, Kinglake, Froude, W. T. Stead, Mark Twain, and the many charming anecdotes concerning them which the author has given us.

\* Though immersed in philosophic speculations, and quite outside the current of political events, he wrote from the depths of Esthonia to a friend in 1877 as follows: "Since Mme. Novikoff has been away from London, affairs with England are getting quite dangerous. I will persuade the lady, for the sake of consolidating the peace, to pack her trunks again and go back there." A quite unexpected tribute to Madame Novikoff's influence.

But it must not be assumed that this book of memoirs deals only, or even for the greater part, with political and theological questions.

The charm of this book is that it has many charms. It is not enough to read Madame Novikoff's work. It is not even enough to read it twice over (an easy task); for in spite of a mass of the most important information it is exceedingly readable and written in an inimitable style. One ought to *study it attentively*, and have it always within reach. It contains one charming peculiarity: the efforts to efface herself, to minimize her doings, and to throw a new and brilliant light upon those who have been her co-workers and many of whom are no more; whereas it has remained for her to enter the paradise of her wishes and ideas in her lifetime.

Another very remarkable feature of this book—Madame Novikoff has actually thrown a new charming light on the Emperor Nicholas I., and reinstated the memory of her two brothers and her son. Only a very deep devotion could bring such brilliant results. Nicholas Kirrécéff has been described by such men as Froude and Kinglake, but the General Alexander Kirrécéff has made himself known as the promoter of the old Catholic movement. Both are described with the greatest success. The sister has reproduced his articles in two volumes in French and two large volumes in Russian. His theological studies were so deep that the Metropolitan of Moscow appointed him an honorary member of the Theological Academy—a unique honour in Russia. Another example of a military career combined with philosophical writings is Descartes, though the latter served as a military volunteer for only a very short time.

In her chapter on the sobering of Russia we are introduced to her son, Alexander Novikoff, and a very admirable speech addressed by him to the peasants of the family estate is put. We permit ourselves to make the following extract:

“Let me now tell what I expect from yourselves. I

begin with your meetings. You must admit that great disorders have taken place at these gatherings. Were they not often accompanied with drinking? What a quantity of land and property has been exchanged for brandy! I have now given strict orders—which I repeat to you now—that the smallest piece of land is not to be disposed of without the consent of your village judges and unless sanctioned by me."

Madame Novikoff recounts her own efforts in combating this evil. She relates that she used to invite the peasants from the village to take tea with her, and says :

"Watching my poor folk, I would sometimes ask them if they cared for tea, and always received the same reply : 'Why, of course we all like tea, but it is too dear for us. Naturally our masters may indulge in it ; but we are poor people with empty pockets, while vodka is quite within our reach, and is cheap and plentiful everywhere.' "

" 'Yes,' I said to myself, 'Count Witte has not shrunk from tempting the poor people everywhere in every way. He introduced the diabolical habit amongst them of buying their alcohol in small bottles at a conveniently low price. Thus any beggar can buy one of these bottles at a conveniently low price, and put it in his pocket.' "

It is now common knowledge what a great boon the prohibition of vodka has been to Russia, and how, so far from reducing the funds of the Exchequer, it has had precisely the opposite effect.

Among the illustrations we may note two school-buildings erected by Alexander Novikoff at Novo-Alexandrofka, and the magnificent church which, judging by its size and beauty, might very well be, not in a village of the province of Tambov, but in Moscow or Petrograd. Special attention should also be drawn to the frontispiece, showing the two sisters, the Empress of Russia and Queen Alexandra, with a superscription : "Les deux Sœurs et Les Pays Unis." In this lovely frontispiece we have the whole programme!

Very remarkable, too, are the reminiscences of musical

friends—pianists and composers who are one of the many glories of Russia. We read of the anger of Rubinstein: a stratagem to listen to and prolong the improvisations of Liszt: kindly acts of Glazounoff: incidents which once read will always be remembered. The celebrated musician and chorus conductor, Professor Safonoff, is so well known in Europe and America that it was particularly charming to learn of his talent as a clever pencil-sketcher. We naturally turn with eagerness to the pages devoted to the present war, and with feelings of profound gratitude to her descriptions of Russian enthusiasm for England and the part played by her in the war.

Every page of these chapters is as it were impregnated with a fanatical faith in victory.

The *Westminster Gazette* of October 27 advises Madame Novikoff to write another book on the same lines as the "Russian Memories," and we entirely endorse the likeness which was discovered by the reviewer between the author and Count Leo Tolstoy the novelist in his most brilliant days. Therefore a new volume would be most welcome.

With the declaration of the Japanese War Madame Novikoff preferred solitude to worldly intercourse, receptions and exchange of visits. Then came the loss of her brother, then of her only son; the idea of having again a salon does not in the least appeal to her now, though, of course, she still has several deeply sincere friends in Russia, as in England.

"The only thing," she declares, "that remains for these times is work and still more work!"

Madame Novikoff was once described in a charming article as "a woman of two countries."

"So I am," said she, "but I never can forget that I have only one nationality, which I can never desert."

## A NESTORIAN BISHOP AND HIS COMMENTARIES\*

THESE books form the tenth and eleventh volumes of the *Horæ Semiticæ* series, and are interesting from many points of view. The history of Isho'dad, the person to whose authorship they are ascribed, is shrouded in mystery and encrusted with legend. It is said that he was a native of Merv, and became Bishop of Hadatha (sometimes written Hedhatta) in Assyria, flourished in the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era and belonged to the Nestorian community. It is claimed for him that he was "much admired for his erudition, wisdom, and splendid personal appearance." In this latter respect he would have presented a striking contrast to the Apostle upon whose epistles he is alleged to have penned the commentary forming the subject of the volumes now under consideration; for, according to certain Christian legends, Paul was a man rather under medium height, with scanty hair, bandy legs, unusually large eyes, but imperfect vision (some have it that he suffered from chronic inflammation of the eyes), bushy eyebrows which met in the centre, and an exceedingly long nose. The name Isho'dad (or as some write it Yesha-Dadh) is not one we would expect to find borne by

\* "The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv," vol. v. Parts I and 2, "The Epistles of Paul the Apostle in Syriac." Edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, Hon. D.D. (Heidelberg), etc. Cambridge: The University Press, 6s. and 5s. net.

a Christian Bishop. It may, however, have some association with the Hebrew Eldad ("Beloved of God"; "God has loved"; or literally, "God loves") (Num. xi. 26). Isho, or Yesha, may be a corruption of Iesu (Jesus—compare Arabic, Isa), and, if so, then Isho'dad may have been a compound word welded into a name meaning "jesus has loved," or possibly "The beloved of Jesus."\*

Bar Hebracus says that the appellation of this Nestorian Bishop was "a Chaldean name," and its meaning "friend of the Redeemer."

The site of the episcopal domain of Isho'dad is very difficult to identify; the name thereof does not seem to be known to any modern traveller, or to find a place in any gazetteer. One writer states that Hedatha was near Mosul, whilst another (Abulfeda) places a town of that name on the banks of the Tigris, fourteen parsangs distant from Mosul.

So we have, in these two volumes, the original text and a translation thereof into English of one of the works inscribed to a somewhat legendary Nestorian ecclesiastic, of an episcopate the exact position whereof is clothed in ambiguity!

Isho'dad is said to have been noted for "his erudition and his wisdom." He certainly appears to have demonstrated one or other of these qualities by the wholesale manner in which he annexed matter from the works of earlier writers, this being especially noticeable with regard to the works of Ephrem, Josephus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia—there being hundreds of almost parallel passages in the works ascribed to Isho'dad and of those written by Theodore.

In the introduction to Mrs. Gibson's translation, written by Professor James Rendel Harris, M.A., LL.D., that gentleman dwells upon the value of this commentary to Hellenic scholars and archæologists, in the numerous instances in

\* Compare also the Hebrew, Eladah (1 Chron. vii. 20), "God is lovely"; Eldaah (Gen. xxv. 4), "God is knowledge," or "God is omniscient" (from *dea* or *daiah*, "knowledge").



which it recites fragments of Greek literature and Hellenic mythology, derived by the author from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. A striking example of this is cited by Dr. Rendel Harris, in his introduction, with regard to the statement that "Zeus was regarded by the Cretans as a prince who was ripped up by a wild boar, and whose tomb was shown in Crete, this exhibition of the tomb of the ever-living one being the blasphemy to which pious Greeks referred when they spoke of the 'lying Cretans.' It was the tomb that was the lie." In support of this view, Professor Harris quotes the following extract from Isho'dad's Commentary upon Titus :

"Now let us come to the fresh information supplied by the present volume. It will be remembered that the line of Epimenides about the lying Cretans occurs in the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus ; when we turn to Isho'dad's Commentary upon Titus, we find the following statement : '*The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, and idle bellies.*' Now, a poet of Crete, who was considered a prophet amongst them, some say it was *Maxanides*, others that it was Minos, son of Zeus ; but he calls him a *prophet*, according to the idea of the heathen about him, and it is evident from his adding their own : now this man, because many said about his father, who had been called Dios, but afterwards changed his name and was called Zeus, that is to say, living, that he went up to heaven and became higher than all the gods, the Cretans alone said he was a tyrant and a rebel, and when those said that he was not a mortal man, but an immortal god, the Cretans on the other hand said that he was killed, and showed his grave among them. For this reason, Minos said about them that they were liars, and think contrary to the ideas of all men ; and that they resemble destructive beasts, and are eager to falsify the writings of the poets. So the Apostle, too, finding

them liars in their dealings with him, employed this saying about them for their reproof, and not as confirming or praising that poet.' ”

The influence of Hellenism and Grecian mythology upon Christianity, at the period when Theodore wrote and Isho'dad plagiarized, is demonstrated over and over again in these commentaries. Take, for instance, the following passage, which occurs in the Commentary upon 1 Cor. xv. 18 :

“ The Corinthians were from the Greeks, and in heathendom they had various suppositions about their gods contrary to one another ; and they said of the later gods that they rebelled, and prevailed over the former ones ; for they fabled about Kronos, who was Saturn, that he was the first of all the gods ; and this one consorted with Rhea his wife ; and because Prometheus had augured to him, Thy son shall push thee from thy Godhead, Pluto and Poseidon were born to him, and he swallowed them. And when Zeus was born to him and his mother saw him that he was beautiful, she hid him and in his stead she stretched out to (Kronos) a stone rolled up in swaddling clothes, and immediately he delivered up those whom he had swallowed. And afterwards Zeus cut off the testicles of his father, and threw him to Tartarus, which is a place that burns with fire, and from its face black scarabs spring up, having stolen this from us, saying, Their fire is not quenched, and their worm dieth not ; that they may therefore also not cogitate against the Christ, that because He is about to subdue all things, He will also push off the Father and reign in His stead. Because of this (Paul) declares to them, saying : ‘ When all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also be subject to Him who hath subdued all things to Him ’—that is to say, the Son is subdued in His humanity, and agrees with Him that hath sub-

dued all to Him ; and He Himself remains subject to Him who hath subdued all to Him. That is to say, when He receives all union and concord with Him, the Humanity which was assumed had no mind separate from God ; but then also fulfils the will of the Godhead ; for he puts subjection here instead of union and concord ; for not even those who are subjected are subjected by violence."

In this passage Isho'dad candidly admits that he adopted this argument from "The Interpreter," that is, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Some of Isho'dad's observations, and the manner in which he endeavours to give a symbolical meaning to ancient Jewish rites and observances, are ingenious and interesting. Take the following from the Commentary on Heb. ix. 2-12, for example :

"The *table of shewbread* which was put in the outer *Tabernacle*, on which twelve loaves divided fourfold were a symbol of the dozen months of the year, which are divided into varieties of four seasons, Winter and Spring, and Summer and Autumn : with the four Elements, Earth and Water, and Air and Fire, in which are engendered and completed all fruits and flowers upon the Earth ; a *Table* of all kinds, and the sustenance of earthly life. *The Candlestick*, with its seven lights, which was fixed on the southern side, was the symbol of the lights in heaven which, on the southern side, complete the circle in the seven weeks of dissoluble time. Others say that the Candlestick was a sign of that Day which God has made ; and the seven Lights are a sign of the seven Days in which at all times the Days are counted, succeeding one another. But our *rest* is in that eighth which does not cease at all. Now, in the inner *Tabernacle*, within *the second veil*, which symbolized the Heavenly Dwelling, there was put the *golden Censer*, which was a sign that Righteousness is

sweet and acceptable to God, as a sweet odour is to us. But, together with the incense, etc., (it was a sign) that the Righteous are accepted there. Now *the Ark overlaid with gold*, figured by its gold the Divinity of the Christ, and by its wood His Humanity, of our nature.

“Now *Aaron's rod* within it, which in the twinkling of an eye broke forth into leaves and fruit, is a type of our Saviour.

“Now the *pot of Manna* is a figure of the holy Body of the Virgin, from which sprang forth the Bread of Life to our nature. *Others* say it is the mystery of the time in which they were fed on *Manna*.

“Now the *tables* that were in it are the four Evangelists; for they were also written on every side.

“Now the *plate* which was above the Ark, which was called the Mercy-seat, in its golden appearance figures (our Lord's) Humanity. Now, in *the voice of God* that was heard from it by the priest, God the Word was designated, who dwelt in a Man; and spoke and wrought all.

“Now the *Cherubim*, overshadowing the Mercy-seat, symbolized the Angelic Powers which were attached to our Lord, etc.”

Another passage of a somewhat similar character is given in the Commentary on Heb. vii. 5-25, and points out five things in which Jesus can be likened unto Melchizedek.

That a belief in demons was firmly held by the author of the book is shown in the following passage, which we extract from the Commentary on 1 Cor. v. 2; vi. 3:

“Know ye not that we shall judge Angels? He here calls the Demons Angels; as this name of Angels does not make known a diverse nature, just like Man or Horse, etc.; but is explained as persons

sent, like this in Job: The Angel came unto him, and announced to him about the destruction of all that he possessed; again, from their first honour he calls them by this name, saying, we shall judge, first, that they might reprove them by comparison with them, like: Ye shall sit on twelve thrones, and ye shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel; and the Queen of the South shall rise in the judgment, etc.; second, that they (the Demons) were obliged by their means to go out of men, as Simon was judged and condemned by Peter; for the Demon who wrought in Simon was once an Angel; and as Apollo the great god of the Heathen was driven by Paul from that Pythoness, etc.; third, as from the Head, who is Christ, who has power over all."

In the Commentary on 1 Cor. xi. 10 we find the following passage, which, we imagine, will not be agreeable reading for some members of the gentler sex:

"A man ought not to cover his head, and the rest of the section; first, because of the affinity that man has with spiritual beings in form; second, because of the image of the headship of Christ which He forms over all, which is priesthood in the Church, given to men alone; third, because natural advantages are more proper to man because he was created first; fourth, because the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man. Everything that exists for the sake of others is less than that on whose account it exists—as the bowman is greater than the work of the bow. Fifth, because he is the head, but she is below the head."

Although we are extremely dubious as to the authenticity of works of this character, ascribed to "early Christian Fathers," as, too often, such "Fathers" and their "works" are the creations of ingenious forgers, who in former days

gloried in committing "pious frauds" "for His name's sake," and who in more modern times commit their forgeries in order to gain some "filthy lucre," yet we must congratulate the learned lady who has translated this work from the Syriac on her unflagging industry, and on the purity and excellence of her translation. In Germany, Johannes Schliebitz and Dr. Diettrich, have each given attention to works ascribed to Isho'dad (Yeshu-Dadh), and rendered certain of them into German, but it has remained for an English lady (despite the extremely ungallant remarks made against her sex by the commentator) to bring before the British public an extremely readable and interesting translation of this work.

HENRI M. LÉON, M.A., LL.D., F.S.P.

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

### RUSSIA

RUSSIA THROUGH THE AGES : A Thousand Years of Russian History. By Sonia E. Howe. (London: *Williams and Norgate.*) 7s. 6d. net.

At the time when the Danes were making their raids on the English coast, Scandinavian warriors crossed the Baltic, and, under Rurik, took possession of the Russian lands, and, as they came in boats, became known as the Russians (deriv. : *ruotsen*. Finnish for oarsmen). It is a far cry from those times to the reign of Alexander Nicolaiévitch and the final abolition of serfdom in Russia, and it is a difficult task, in the space of 320 pages, to give an impression, let alone a connected history, of a great people who in the course of one thousand years experienced so many tremendous changes. Mrs. Howe has succeeded in writing an entertaining and accurate narrative, remarkably free from the great modern scourge of *bias*, and exhibiting learning without pedantry, shrewdness without the blight of cynicism, candour without rancour.

It is for this reason—because the book is a true reflection, as it were, of Russian history, rather than an elaborate painting designed to show up this and conceal that—that we can commend it enthusiastically to all who want to know more about our great Ally.

The author brings out all the salient points in Russia's history : the early connection established by the rulers of the Principality of Kiev with Byzantium, whence they derived their Christianity, and to which Russia's eyes have ever since been turned ; the long rule of the Golden Horde, lasting from 1224 to 1505, which taught the inhabitants to unite against the aggressor, and paved the way for the union of all the Russias under Muscovite ascendancy. In this work the Muscovite Princes, who at first had to gain recognition from the Mongol Khans, received welcome co-operation from the high ecclesiastics. It was Ivan the Terrible who first saw the necessity of establishing intercourse with other countries, and occupied Astrakhan in the south and opened trade relations with England, via Archangel. This tendency was greatly developed by Peter the Great, from whose reign are traceable the two divergent influences—Petrograd standing

for European connection, while Moscow, the old capital, remained the centre of national traditions. After Catherine II had pushed Russian boundaries westwards, Alexander I. by his successful intervention in the Napoleonic Wars, was enabled to give his country a permanent and a paramount place in the Councils of Europe.

The volume is rounded off with some valuable chapters on the Baltic Provinces, Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, and the Cossacks.

THE LITURGY OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH: With an Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By H. Hamilton Maughan. (London: *Faith Press*. Milwaukee: *Young Churchman Company*.) Price 2s. 6d. net.

It is probable that English Churchmen generally owe what acquaintance they possess with the Eastern Church to the classic work of Dean Stanley, a truly Catholic minded son of the Church, whose lectures are pervaded with a noble spirit of charity and sympathy. He wrote that "the field of Eastern Christendom is a comparatively untrodden field. It is out of sight, and therefore out of mind." Since Stanley wrote, the field has been trodden by other investigators, among others Dr. Adrian Fortescue, whose collaboration is acknowledged by Mr. Hamilton Maughan, and Mr. W. J. Burkbeck, an authority of more than European reputation, recently deceased, whose name when in Russia we have heard mentioned with veneration by an Orthodox pope.

Mr. Hamilton Maughan presupposes that the reader possesses no specialized knowledge of the worship of the Orthodox Church, but only a normal acquaintanceship with the liturgical customs of England and the West generally, and rightly thinks that his little work will be welcome to students desirous of acquiring some elementary knowledge of the Orthodox rite. He has given a literal translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, with illustrations and explanatory notes, and descriptions of vestments and instruments, in a handy pocket volume which can accompany the visitor and enable him to follow the service at a Greek church at home or abroad. The Greek terms are transliterated (*sticharion*, *epitrachelion*, *phainolion*, *Theotokos*), and the Slavonic responses (*Slava tybye Hospodi*, *Hospodi pomilui*). In the introduction is an explanation of the architecture, usually Byzantine, to which the Russian Church is devoted. Musical instruments are unknown in the Orthodox Church, but this is made up for by the wonderful singing of clergy and choristers, to which witness has been borne by countless visitors to Russia. After the Prothesis, the order of St. Chrysostom's Liturgy is given, with ample notes. Here is a translation of the famous *Trisagion* (*Tersanctus*), a Byzantine hymn of the fifth century:

"Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us (*thrice*).

Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,  
Both now, and always, and unto the ages of ages. *Amen*.

Holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us.

Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us."



The prayers, as is inevitable in Oriental surroundings, are rich in symbolism and devotional beauty, and the sermons of the early Russian clergy—e.g., Cyril of Turov—abound in poetic parallels.

To add to the value of his work, Mr. Hamilton Maughan furnishes eleven handsome illustrations of special interest, for the most part entirely new and from sources not usually accessible. There is a frontispiece of His Holiness Germanos V., Bishop of Constantinople and New Rome and Œcumenical Patriarch, a prelate of fine presence. Other illustrations show the Holy Table with ornaments and the Prothesis Table with instruments, a Priest and Server vested for the Liturgy, and the *Ikonostasis*.

The student and the advanced scholar will alike profit from this excellent work. F. P. M.

IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF RUSSIAN SLAVONISM. By Alexander A. Briantchaninoff, President of the Society of Slav Mutuality of Petrograd. Translated by Mme. Sophie de Bellegarde (*née* Princess Urussov). (*King.*) 1s. net.

This essay is written by a progressive thinker, who tries to reconcile progressive ideas with Slavonism, a name he adopts instead of "Slavophilism," which is based on a Greek root, "unsuitable to the richness of the Russian language." It appeals to highly cultured Russians, and it is not surprising that the author had difficulties with the censorship. The author's main point seems to be that the hour of the Slav has not yet come, but that it is well on the way. History teaches unquestionably that in centuries of European strife—politically and military—

Their sentimental mysticism led them in most cases of strife with gross material interest, to complete or partial annihilation. Neither the Serbs, Bulgarians [of Tartar origin], Czechs, Poles, Slovenes, nor Slovaks, although relatively very civilized for their epoch, could withstand the encroachments of foreign culture, and all bowed before the tyranny of the stranger's yoke.

The subjugation of all of these did not occur at the same time; and, in the case of two, the Serbs and Czechs, they have succeeded in reassertion of national sentiment. (In an earlier issue we referred to Mr. G. de Wesselitzky's paper on the forgotten Slavs of Prussia.) The rise of the great Russian Empire is due, says the author, to its not entirely Slavonic State conception. The "half-Slavonic sons of Great Russia were the conquerors, not the undisputed Slavs of the Ukraine." The Russian realist is the result of Slavonic inoculation on a Finnish root, which has borne "the infection of the Tartar's small-pox and the poisonous breath of the Teutonic cancer." The "apoliticism" of the Russian character is commended for study by those interested in practical politics. In conclusion, Mr. Briantchaninoff sees in Pushkin the originator of Russian liberal Slavonism—*passim*, he had a negro infusion—as his Slav spirit did not prevent him from admiring Hellas, Napoleon, Mozart, or Don Juan. He might well have added, England, Shakespeare, and Byron.

This study can be commended to the historian, philosopher, and statesman. Some transliterated forms are unfamiliar—e.g., “Mizkievics,” “Chartorygsky,” and “Sevastople.”

F. P. M.

## THE MIDDLE EAST

ARMENIAN LEGENDS AND POEMS. Illustrated and Compiled by Zabelle C. Boyajian. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M.; and a Contribution on “Armenia: its Epics, Folk-Songs, and Medieval Poetry,” by Aram Raffi. (London: *J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.*; New York: *E. P. Dutton and Co.*) [Profits of sale to be given to the Lord Mayor’s Armenian Fund.]

Art and literature are blended in this volume. Miss Boyajian has collected a number of Armenian poems, most of which are translated by herself, illustrating several of them in the style of mediæval illuminated missal, with appropriate borders, of varied design, which form one of the most striking features of her work.

Mr. Raffi’s “Contribution” consists of an historical sketch of Armenian poetry, partly in elucidation of the poems in this volume, partly as supplementary to them.

“It is an established fact that Armenia has had a civilization of its own from a very early date,” says Mr. Raffi.

That in this civilization literature held a conspicuous place this volume is a proof.

Besides folk-songs dating from early pre-Christian times, we find pure literature extending from the tenth to the twentieth century, the earliest poem being by St. Gregory of Narek (A.D. 951-1009), the latest by Zabelle Essayian (born 1878). Nor, though in Armenia, as in other countries, some periods have been more fertile than others, has there ever come an age of complete sterility. Moreover, in spite of the continual oppression and misery that have been the lot of Armenia for many centuries, the literature is not devoid of humour, cheerfulness, and shrewd observation of life. Witness some of the proverbs and fables quoted by Mr. Raffi:

“One fool threw a stone into a well; forty wise men were unable to get it out.”

“He crossed the sea safely, and was drowned in a brook.”

“They asked the partridge, ‘Why are your feet red?’

“‘From the cold,’ he replied.

“‘We have seen you in the summer as well,’ they rejoined.”

Like all other countries, Armenia has its love poems. Some of these are pathetic; many pulsate with strong feeling; others, again, remind us of the extravagance of mediæval singers. Even ecclesiastics try their hand at such verse, though, as it seems, often as a mere literary exercise. In these poems we find introduced again and again the Persian story of the love of the rose and the nightingale. Grigoris of Aghtamar (fifteenth century)

wrote a long poem on this theme, in which, quaintly, the nightingale and the rose are described as exchanging letters. Such a strong hold has the legend taken on the Armenian mind that we find allusions to it in a large number of serious poems, sometimes with allegorical significance. The fondness for this story is perhaps connected with the love of Armenian poets for curious conceits, which sometimes results in far-fetched and overstrained flowers of speech, but sometimes also produces a very pretty effect, as in the following verse :

“Oft and often have I said  
For my love make garments shining :  
Of the sun the facing red —  
Of the moon cut out the lining ;  
Pad it with your storm-cloud dark,  
Sewn with seaweed from the islets :  
Stars for clasps must bring their spark --  
Stitch me inside for the eyelets !”\*

It is perhaps partly due to the tragic history of their country that we owe the careful cherishing by Armenians of their national folk-lore and legends. Among the legends given and illustrated in this book are the pagan ones of Vahagn, Semiramus and Ara, and Artashes and Satenik, and the Christian story of Christ and Abgarus.

Very striking is Miss Boyajian's illustration of the birth of the King Vahagn, which is thus described in an ancient poem :

“Heaven and earth were in travail,  
And the crimson waters were in travail,  
And, in the water, the crimson reed  
Was also in travail  
From the mouth of the reed issued smoke,  
From the mouth of the reed issued flame,  
And out of the flame sprang the young child.  
His hair was of fire, a beard had he of flame,  
And his eyes were suns.”

The love of Semiramus for the Armenian King, Ara, is a well-known episode of legendary history. Miss Boyajian has chosen for illustration the scene where the Queen stands by the bier of the man whom she has loved hopelessly and done to death. Very impressive is the noble calm on the dead youth's countenance, contrasted with the agonized face of the Queen, as she stands beside him, hoping against hope that he may be restored to life by magic arts.

For the narrative of the bridal of the Armenian monarch, Artashes, with Satenik, the daughter of his conquered foe, the Alan King, we must refer our readers to Miss Boyajian and Mr. Raffi, but we would draw attention to the illustration of the scene where Satenik goes to the river's bank and pleads to Artashes (who stands on the opposite shore) for the release of her brother, urging that “it is not the way of heroes to destroy life at the root nor to establish everlasting enmity between two great nations.” The

\* From “Vesternight I walked Abroad” (Anonymous). This translation and all others to which no name is attached are by Miss Boyajian.

attitude of Artashes is particularly striking, and the dark purple of the mountains with the subdued tone of the picture, relieved here and there by a few bright touches, harmonizes perfectly with the character of the story.

The Christian legend, given in this book, tells how Abgarus, King of Armenia, being sick and having heard of the miracles of Christ, sent a letter asking Him to come and heal him, and offering Him hospitality; to which Christ wrote a reply to the effect that He could not come Himself, but He would by-and-by send one of His disciples "to heal thee of thy disease and give life unto thee and unto all them that are with thee."

These legends are taken from Moses of Khorene, in whose history are preserved all the extant fragments of the early legendary poems. The stories just mentioned are given as narrated by this historian, and, together with some other passages of the history, have been rendered by Miss Boyajian in rhythmical prose, resembling that of the Authorized Version of the Bible—a style which well suits the Armenian chronicler. These translations are the more valuable because as yet there is no English rendering of the work from which they are extracted.

An interesting biographical sketch of the historian is given in Mr. Raffi's "Contribution."

Among other branches of literature in which Armenia is rich is religious poetry and prose narrative, the latter mainly allegorical. Besides ordinary hymns, there is a peculiar kind of religious poem, called the *sharakan*, or "rows of gems," embodying, as Mr. Raffi says, much tenderness, hope, and devotion.

A remarkable point about Armenian religious literature is its freedom from "other worldliness." With Armenia's history before us, we should expect her priests to turn away from the sorrows of this world to dwell on the joys of Paradise; but, on the contrary, we find Armenian ecclesiastics intensely appreciative of the beauties and pleasures of the earth. A remarkable instance of this is the poem entitled "The Dispute between Heaven and Earth," by Nerses Mokatz'i, which is thus described by Mr. Raffi:

"The poet begins by saying that Heaven and Earth are brothers. One day these brothers disputed as to which of them was the greater. He then goes on to report a dialogue in which each of them enumerates his own possessions, declaring them superior to those of the other."

This dialogue commences thus:

"*Heaven.* Surely I possess more than you. The stars, with their radiance, are all in my domain.

"*Earth.* The flowers, with their six thousand colours, are in mine."

After the argument has proceeded in this strain for some length, the poet concludes thus, giving the verdict in favour of the Earth:

"Heaven then bent down its head  
To the Earth in adoration;  
You, too, children of the Earth,  
Bow to her in adoration.

What is higher than the Earth ?  
 Praise and love bring to enwreathe her,  
 For to-day we walk on her,  
 And to-morrow sleep beneath her."

From what has been said it is manifest that Armenian bards ranged over a wide field. Although Miss Boyajian expressly says that her work does not pretend to be a complete presentation of Armenian poetry, yet the selections she has given represent many schools and styles, and deal with a variety of themes, while Mr. Raffi mentions other literary forms not represented in the first part of the book.

And yet one note pervades the whole work. We never lose the sound of the tragic wail over the hapless land, so well typified in the frontispiece by the mourning female figure, standing, bowed with grief, under the shadow of Mount Ararat, amid the ruins of a noble city. Well may she cry :

"The ages pass, no tidings come,  
 My brave ones fall, are lost and gone ;  
 My blood is chilled, my voice is dumb,  
 And friend or comfort have I none." \*

We hear this wail especially in the songs of exile ; most poignant perhaps is the cry of Muggurdich Beshigtashlian (1829-1868) in a poem called "Spring," beginning .

"O little breeze, how fresh and sweet  
 Thou blowest in the morning air !  
 Upon the flowers caressingly,  
 And on the gentle maiden's hair.  
 But not my country's breath thou art :  
 Blow elsewhere, come not near my heart !"

And, after a similar address to a bird and a brook, ending .

"Although Armenia's breeze and bird  
 Above a land of ruins fly ;  
 Although through mourning cypress groves  
 Armenia's turbid stream flows by -  
 They are the sighing of her heart,  
 And never shall from mine depart !"

And yet, with all the sadness, there is no despair, no abatement of ardour for liberty, no resignation to tyranny. We see this especially in the poem entitled "The Tears of Araxes," by Raphael Patkanian (1830-1892), in which the poet represents himself as conversing with the river :

"Make not thy current turbid,  
 Flow calm and joyously.  
 Thy youth is short, fair river,  
 Thou soon wilt reach the sea.

\* These lines are inscribed below the picture, and are taken from the anonymous poem entitled "The Sorrows of Armenia," given on p. 47 of the book.

- “ ‘ Let sweet rose-hedges brighten  
Thy hospitable shore,  
And nightingales among them  
Till morn their music pour.
- “ ‘ Let ever-verdant willows  
Lave in thy waves their feet,  
And with their bending branches  
Refresh the noonday heat.
- “ ‘ Let shepherds on thy margin  
Walk singing, without fear ;  
Let lambs and kids seek freely  
Thy water cool and clear.’
- “ Araxes swelled her current,  
Tossed high her foaming tide,  
And in a voice of thunder,  
Thus from her depths replied -
- “ ‘ Rash, thoughtless youth, why com’st thou  
My age-long sleep to break,  
And memories of my myriad griefs  
Within my heart to wake ?
- “ ‘ When hast thou seen a widow,  
After her true love died,  
From head to foot resplendent  
With ornaments of pride ?
- “ ‘ For whom should I adorn me ?  
Whose eyes shall I delight ?  
The stranger hordes that tread my banks  
Are hateful in my sight.
- “ ‘ Once I, too, moved in splendour,  
Adorned as is a bride,  
With myriad precious jewels,  
My smiling banks beside.
- “ ‘ What from that time remaineth ?  
All, all has passed away.  
Which of my prosperous cities  
Stands near my waves to-day ?
- “ ‘ Mount Ararat doth pour me,  
As with a mother’s care,  
From out her sacred bosom  
Pure water, cool and fair.
- “ ‘ Shall I her holy bounty,  
To hated aliens fling ?  
Shall strangers’ fields be watered  
From good Saint Jacob’s spring ?

“ ‘While my own sons, defenceless,  
Are exiled from their home,  
And, faint with thirst and hunger,  
In distant countries roam.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ ‘Still, while my sons are exiled,  
Shall I be sad, as now.  
There is my heart’s deep utterance,  
My true and holy vow.’ ” \*

Well may Miss Boyajian dedicate her book to “The Undying Spirit of Armenia.”

H. M. SELEV.

### POETRY

LIFE CANNOT CEASE, AND LEAVES FROM THE PILGRIM’S WAY. By Marguerite Percy. (London: *East and West, Ltd.*) 3s. 6d. net.

It may be said at once that the author combines an ample flow of poetic diction with a power of dramatic arrangement which is rarely seen. Her first poem, and in some respects her best, is entitled “Life Cannot Cease,” in 186 nine-line stanzas. The remainder are collected under the general title of “Leaves from the Pilgrim’s Way.” Amongst the latter we may especially mention “A Ballad of Reigate,” beginning in the following engaging manner:

“In sixteen hundred and forty-eight  
By the stately river winding down,  
On the fourth of July in the evening late,  
Lord Holland rides from London town.

“Young Buckingham with him, proudest of peers,  
Lord Francis Villiers gallant and gay,  
And many a son of the old Cavaliers,  
A goodly band in battle array”—

as well as “Inda!” which opens as follows:

“Ah! Thou wilt link me with the Motherland  
Once more! I cannot choose but come with thee,  
Though here. Besides thee on the sacred strand,  
Dear Heart!—within thy being—I shall stand.”

I. T.

### GENERAL

JOHN STRANGE WINTER: A Volume of Personal Record. By Oliver Bainbridge; with a foreword by Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B. (London: *East and West, Ltd.*)

Few can tell the life story of a good woman with deeper feeling and truer sympathy than Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, and in Mrs. Stannard (John

Strange Winter) he seems to have found a counterpart of his favourite heroine, "Carmen Sylva --Queen of Rumania." Glancing at the portraits of these two remarkable women, one cannot fail to be struck by the marked resemblance between them - and the characters of both, as portrayed by Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, have much in common.

Both were distinguished—like Elizabeth Stuart, "The 'Winter' Queen" of Bohemia (the Stuart ancestress of our present Royal Family)—by their love of animals, by dauntless courage, and the ready hand of help, and by their deep sympathy with suffering in every shape and form. Both were also gifted with the genius—that capacity for taking infinite pains—which rendered them graceful and charming writers.

As Mr. Oliver Bainbridge points out, once she decided to devote her attention to writing Fiction, Mrs. Stannard worked hard, and, with untiring patience, served a long apprenticeship in the art.

Following the teaching of Ruskin, she revered thoroughness and accuracy, and carefully studied and elaborated every detail of the word-picture she desired to paint. She was sublime in the simplicity of her language; and the deep and tender pathos with which she wrote never failed to touch the heart. At the same time, her strong and vigorous delineation of character, and the virile skill with which she portrayed the spirit of the English officer and gentleman, led the world to believe that the author of "Cavalry Life," "Bootle's Baby," and other masterpieces, must unquestionably be a man. Mr. Oliver Bainbridge tells how astonished the Literary Fund Dinner-Committee, "The Officers of a certain British Regiment," and others, were when they learnt that the mysterious "Winter" was a woman!

In his foreword General Sir Alfred Turner dwells on the human kindness of John Strange Winter; on her courage, and eagerness to assist the weak, the old, the suffering; and he well says that "*now* she has her reward in 'The Land of the Hereafter,' in one of those 'many mansions' prepared for those who do good and no evil to their fellows while on earth."

As Mr. Oliver Bainbridge truly declares: "In God's light, death is life, and loss gain, and sorrow joy, to the Christian", and this was the bright hope in which Henrietta Stannard died.

A SYNTAX OF COLLOQUIAL PASHTU. By Major D. L. Lorimer, Indian Army. (Oxford University Press.) 15s. net.

Like every other textbook written on the grammar of the Pashtu language, Major Lorimer's work convinces one of the difficulty of acquiring the correct accent in the language of the Afghan. Major Lorimer has tackled the subject courageously in his opening chapter, but not one in a hundred scholars will be able to read through the twenty-sixth story taken by Major Lorimer in the chapter from the *Ganj-i-Pashtu* without stumbling at every third word. Major Lorimer has, however, done what was humanly possible to assist the scholar in negotiating the high hurdles of Pashtu pronunciation. As for the remainder of the book, which deals with the



syntax of the language, all that can be said is that it is perhaps for the first time that Pashtu has been dealt with in so systematic and simple a manner as in Major Lorimer's book. The author is concerned with the Pashtu of North-Eastern Afghanistan, as it is with people in that part of Afghanistan that English officials have dealings. The Pashtu of the Frontier differs, however, in some important particulars from the Pashtu of the southern districts of Afghanistan in pronunciation and even in syntax. The latter, however, is acknowledged by Afghans everywhere to be the best form of Pashtu; it is understood to occupy the same position in Pashtu dialects which Parisian French occupies in the provinces of France. For one thing, it is not so harshly guttural as the Pashtu of the Frontier; and for another, it aims at some refinement of expression. This is probably due to the influence of Persian words. So far as is known, there is no work extant on the grammar of the Pashtu of the south. Major Lorimer's book and the work of his predecessors will, however, help materially in the production of a work dealing with the language of the Afghans as the Afghans themselves would deal with it, if they had any grammarians.



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

UNDER its new conditions the Imperial Institute is showing considerable activity on practical and commercial lines. The Council, of which Lord Islington is chairman, has appointed committees for India, for each of the Dominions, for groups of Crown Colonies and Protectorates; also technical committees to deal with raw materials of every country of the Empire, among them rubber, timber, mineral resources, silk production, and tanning. Representatives of the principal Chambers of Commerce form another committee for the purpose of securing the co-ordination of the Institute and these important commercial bodies.

On the Indian committee one Indian gentleman serves, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali (I.C.S. retired); the other members are, Lord Islington (Under Secretary of State for India); Sir Marshall Reid, Member of the India Council; Professor Wyndham Dunstan, Director of the Imperial Institute; Mr. L. J. Kershaw, secretary, revenue and Statistical Department, India Office; Sir John Hewett, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces; Mr. George B. Allen, of Messrs. Allen Bros. and Co.; and Messrs. Cooper Allen, Cawnpore; Sir R. W. Carlyle, lately Member of the Viceroy's Council; and Sir J. Dunlop Smith. Mr. C. C. McLeod, chairman of the London Jute Association, is chairman of the committee; and the secretary is Mr. A. J. Hedge-land, of the Imperial Institute.

The Secretary of State for India has authorized the Indian committee to inquire into the possibilities of extending the industrial and commercial utilization of Indian raw materials within the Empire. Results of investigations already carried out will be carefully considered, and views obtained from leading merchants, manufacturers, and other users of the raw products of India.

The suggestion of an Indian Flag Day has not yet materialized, although our Allies and various other excellent objects have had their turn, but there was an Indian Section to "Our Day" on October 19, organized at short notice by Princess Sophia Dulcep

Singh, to whose appeal many Indian and British friends made willing response. The headquarters of the Section were at Dewar House, Haymarket, and the "pitch" allotted included the Haymarket, the streets leading into Regent Street, and Carlton House Terrace. With the Carlton Hotel and His Majesty's Theatre within the sphere of action, the sellers had good opportunity and were most successful. The energetic ones began at 7 a.m., determined to catch the "early birds," and some continued until darkness put an end to business. Outside Dewar House was a stall with the special Indian flags decorated with either an elephant or a star, and many interesting objects among them, relics in the form of brooches, pins, or pieces of wire, from the Zeppelin brought down at Cuffley. There was quite a competition to buy from Indian ladies, whose picturesque dresses made a bright show on an autumn day, on which, however, the sun shone brilliantly. In spite of the oft-recurring Flag Days, the public met the attack from the sellers of the Indian Section with steadiness, making a generous response, and many wore the Indian elephant in company with the maple-leaf of Canada, the kangaroo of Australia, and the British red cross. Among those who helped Princess Sophia at the stall, or as sellers in the streets, or in the less conspicuous but important work of organization, were Lady Hayes Sadler, Lady Kensington, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mrs. Abbas Ali Baig, Lady E. Beauchamp, Princess Pauline Torry, Mrs. N. C. Sen and her children, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Bhola Nauth, Mrs. Gupta, Mrs. Khan, Miss Muriel Dutt, Miss Beletti, the Misses Drummond Woolf, Mrs. Arnold, and Miss E. J. Beck. Lady Munro, wife of the Commander-in-Chief in India, wrote regretting her inability to give personal help, but sent a donation; and other gifts were made to Princess Sophia, who is to be congratulated warmly on the success of her enterprise.

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It was a novel experience to hear in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society in London the living voice of the aborigines of Chota Nagpur and the Santal Perganas, but the gramophone, in its developed state, has come into its own among scientists; it is now something more than a rather painful and raucous recreation. Ethnologists as well as philologists have recognized its value; some years ago members of the Royal Asiatic Society advocated its use for recording the languages of little-known tribes, or of those who were dying out, or whose language was changing. On the suggestion of Sir George Grierson, the veteran philologist and head of the Linguistic Survey of India, the Behar and Orissa Government took records of four vernaculars of Chota Nagpur belonging to the Munda group—Kharia, Mundari, So, and Santal—and these, with one of the Dravidian group, Eurukhi, were heard in London last month. With the exception of the latter, these languages in the living voice were heard here for the first time; the exception, said Sir George Grierson, who gave the demonstration, was that a Eurukhi-speaking woman married a learned

missionary and came to this country some years ago. There was one record common to all the languages—the story of the Prodigal Son. The agglutinative character of the dialects might be judged, Sir George pointed out, from an example of the literal English equivalent of the opening sentences in Santali:

“One man -of two boys children -they -two were his. And them--two among the—little--one his father--he said to--him: ‘O father, me to falling existing -thing--of portion bestow--give outright -mine—thou.’”

It was particularly interesting to follow the living voice with the aid of the text printed in English characters. Other records included marriage and folk-songs. Sir George also pointed out the wide extent of the Munda languages; they stretch from India through Assam, Burma, Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Polynesia to Easter Island, which is no great distance from the coast of South America. Students of languages or of general phonetics will be able to consult these records at the India Office Library, the British Museum, and the Royal Asiatic Society. There was warm agreement with Sir George when he declared that linguistic science owes a debt of gratitude to the Government of Behar and Orissa, and expressed the hope that other Governments would follow this excellent example.

Dr. E. Demson Ross has been appointed Director of the School of Oriental Studies, which is housed in the old London Institution, and will be open to students at the beginning of the year. Dr. Ross is well known for the energy and enthusiasm which he brought to bear as Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, and for the way in which he put new life into the almost moribund Institution. He filled at the same time, and with marked success, the post of Epigraphist to the Government of India. His oriental scholarship is wide in its interest, but his special languages are Arabic and Persian. His translation of the *Farikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar, Dughlat, cousin of the Emperor Baber, is well known, and after visiting the countries of which Mirza Haidar wrote, Dr. Ross wrote “The Heart of Asia.” Two years ago he resigned his work in India and joined the staff of the British Museum; one of his first duties was to arrange the valuable collection of antiquities which Sir Aurel Stein discovered in the sands of Central Asia. Dr. Ross obtained his diploma at the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Paris, and it will no doubt be a gratification to him to take an active part in redeeming Britain from the disgrace of being without a central Oriental School in the Metropolis of the Empire—though the excellent work done at Oxford and Cambridge must not be overlooked when Paris, Berlin, and Petrograd have had for many years their oriental Schools, giving facilities for the study of the East and its scholarly, scientific, industrial, and commercial interests.

The appeal issued recently on behalf of the endowment fund of

the School for Oriental Studies in London was signed by Lord Curzon, chairman of the Appeal Committee; Lord Cromer, the Lord Mayor; Sir J. P. Hewett, chairman of the governing body; Sir Montagu Turner, chairman of the executive of the Appeal Committee; and Mr. Lionel Martin, chairman of Council, London Chamber of Commerce; and was supported by the Prime Minister, Lord Crewe, Lord Landsowne, Viscount Grey, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Henderson, who are members on the Appeal Committee. The Berlin School had an income before the war of £10,000 a year; the London School requires £14,000, as its scope is more extended; a sum of £7,000, including grants from the Imperial Government, and the Government of India, is in view, but the purpose of the appeal is to raise a fund of £150,000 to give the Institution the required income, and it is hoped that a generous response will be made. The appeal points out that in China the commercial war will be most acute and the opportunities greatest. A paragraph in the appeal which lays stress on quite another aspect, a giving and taking of understanding and sympathy, runs thus:

"May we not hope after the war for a much closer co-operation, a clearer understanding, a livelier interest, the more universal recognition of a common aim between the peoples of the East and the West, who are fellow-subjects of the same sovereign, and whose common allegiance will have been testified and purified by the fiery ordeal of common service and sacrifice against a common enemy? Just as the soldiers of these various climes have stood shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield or in the trenches, will not the students and scholars, the civilians and men of peace crave for the closer association of fellowship in a common spiritual and intellectual aim?"

Considerable interest was aroused in the production for the first time in London of a play by Kalidasa, "*Vikramorvasi*," under the title of "*The Hero and the Nymph*," adapted by Mr. K. N. Das Gupta. Under the auspices of the Union of East and West (Hon. Sec., Miss Clarissa Miles, 50, Egerton Gardens, S.W.), the play was given at the Grafton Galleries by the Indian Art and Dramatic Society, who had the able co-operation of Miss Sybil Thorndike, Mr. William Stack, and Mr. Arthur Fane, whose fame has spread far beyond the Royal Victoria Hall (the "*Old Vic*"), where they have done such excellent service in the Shakespeare plays which are given five times every week from September to May. Such experienced players entered with understanding and keen appreciation into Kalidasa's charming work. It tells of the nymph, belonging to the heavenly players called upon to entertain the celestial beings, being rescued from a demon by an earthly king; there is love at first sight. When fulfilling her duties she answers a question as to whom she loves by giving the name of her earthly lover. This arouses the ire of the celestials, but she and the king find happiness in each other. After

their happy marriage there comes an occasion when the queen is seized with a fit of jealousy, and she unwittingly enters the grove of the woman-hating god of war, who turns her into a vine. The disconsolate husband searches for her in the forest in vain, but at last the Goddess of Truth descends from heaven with a magic ruby, which reveals and restores the lovely queen.

The production was arranged by Mr. Charles Fry, who has fallen under the spell of "the Indian Shakespeare" as well as our own. It was absolutely simple, with only curtains for a background. The touch of humour was well conveyed by Mr. Arthur Fane as the king's companion, a Brahmin, who was always eager for dinner, and found love-making very tedious.

The Union of East and West also arranged an interesting lecture by the American artist and lover of India, Mr. Edmund Russell, on "Great Women of Indian History," in which it was shown how rich India is in women distinguished in every branch of human achievement: statesmanship, war, philosophy, romance, poetry, science, etc. He thought structure of orthodox domestic life in India, where households frequently consisted of seventy or a hundred persons, representing several generations, gave good opportunities for experience in administration and government which was most valuable in public affairs and times of crisis. He told, with graphic word painting, the story of Mirabai of Mewar, Padmuni, Chand Bibi, Dugavati, and others. Mrs. Pethwick Lawrence, who presided, declared that British women ought to know the thrilling stories of the Indian people and treasure them as part of their imperial heritage.

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Owing to his state of health, Sir Krishna Gupta was not able to accept the hospitality which his friends were anxious to show to him on leaving England for a visit to India. The usual Wednesday afternoon At Home of the National Indian Association on October 25, and the gathering of the London Brahmo Samaj at Lindsey Hall, Notting Hill, late on Sunday afternoon, October 26, afforded friends an opportunity of wishing him Godspeed. It is hoped that the visit will entirely restore his health, and he hopes to devote some time to the vital question of the education of girls in India.

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There was a wide and representative interest at the dinner held at the Lyceum Club to wish a prosperous career to the illuminating book, "The Soul of Russia," on the day of its publication. The editor, Miss Winifred Stephens, a well-known member of the Club, presided; Sir Frederick Macmillan, the publisher, was present; also many of the contributors and translators. M. C. Nabokov, of the Russian Embassy, described the book as "a wonderful tribute to my country, and a symbol of the movement towards better understanding between Great Britain and Russia." Among the other speakers were Captain G. de Schoultz, of the Russian Navy, who has

spent some months with the Grand Fleet and was enthusiastic in its praise; Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P.; Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Sir Frederick Macmillan, and Miss Susette Taylor, who spoke for these who had taken part in the workmanship of the book. The veteran, Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, received a warm welcome as one who, forty years ago, advocated a better understanding between the two peoples. Miss Stephens maintained that no binding friendship can exist without interchange of ideas, and there was unanimous support for her expression of hope that "The Soul of Russia" would be a valuable help towards this desired end.

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Another book of interest just published is "Armenian Literature" (Dent, 21s.), in which Miss Zabelle C. Boyajian, aided by Mr. A. Ralfi, has given an excellent picture of Armenian folk-tales, poetry, and other literary interests. Her beautiful illustrations, full of the characteristic tradition of her country, are both a delight to the eye and an exquisite addition to the book. The originals are on view at the Fine Art Society, 148, New Bond Street, until about November 20, and will probably be exhibited at the Caxton Hall (Women's Freedom League Fair) on November 24 and 25.

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The Serbian Society of Great Britain was inaugurated at a meeting at the Mansion House on October 20, under the chairmanship of the Lord Mayor. Its aims are:

1. To promote close relations with Serbia and with the Southern Slav race as a whole
2. To make clear the importance of a united Southern Slav State as a permanent safeguard of European freedom.
3. To work for a friendly agreement between the Southern Slavs, Italy, and Rumania.
4. To work for Southern Slav Union: (a) as an essential feature of the Allied policy of securing the rights and liberties of small peoples; (b) as a guarantee against future Germanic attempts to obtain political and economic mastery in Europe and the East; and (c) as the surest foundation of peace in the Adriatic and the Balkans.
5. To co-operate with all kindred societies within and without the British Commonwealth.

Lord Cromer is the president, and the Council of the Society includes: Sir Edward Carson, Lord Milner, Lord Moulton, Lord Strathelyde, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Admiral Lord Beresford, the Master of Balliol, the Master of University College, Oxford, Professor Michael E. Sadler, the Rev. Sir George Adam Smith, Major Astor, M.P., the Right Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Sir Frederick Cawley, M.P., Sir Algernon Firth, Sir James Frazer, the Right Hon. Ellis Griffiths, M.P., Sir Robert A. Hadfield, Mr. John Hodge, M.P., Colonel the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., Sir Oliver Lodge, and Sir Francis Young-husband.

The members of the Executive Committee include: Messrs. Annan Bryce, M.P., John Buchan, Dr. Burrows, Sir Arthur Evans, Major-General Sir Ivor Herbert, H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Ronald M'Neil, M.P., Admiral the Hon. Sir Hedworth Meux, M.P., Dr. Seton Watson, St. Loe Strachey, Stephen Walsh, M.P., A. F. White, M.P., and E. Hilton Young, M.P. Membership of the society is open to all British subjects on an annual payment of 5s. to the Hon. Treasurer, 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.

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Lord Cromer, in the course of his speech at the Mansion House meeting, gave emphatic denial to the idea that the new Society was animated by hostility to Italy; if it had been true he would have had nothing to do with it. If occasion offered, the Society would do everything in its power to bring the Slavs and the Italians together. Other speakers were Mr. Wickham Steed, acting chairman of the Society; Sir Edward Carson, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor; and the following resolution was adopted:

This meeting declares its firm belief that the union of the Southern Slav race and a close agreement between the Southern Slav race and Italy are essential to the future peace of Europe, and are therefore pre-eminent interests of the peoples of the British Commonwealth.

A. A. S.



## SINGLE VERSE-POEMS

AFTER THE MANNER OF THE JAPANESE *HAIKAI* AND  
*HIOKKU*

THIS concentrated form of poem contained within the limit of 19 syllables was in vogue among the Japanese during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It followed the *Tanka*, or verses of 31 syllables, of an earlier date. To compress within so small a number of words a complete poem—that is to say, a verse conveying a poetic idea, expressed in a vague manner, yet rendered obvious to the reader—commanded approval, as pleasing, for instance, as the fragrance of a flower that is unseen but near, and therefore perceived, since the poetic thought in the *Haikai* is often suggested rather than defined.

In the following verse-poems, Mr. William Porter's\* system of the construction of *Haikais* of 20 syllables in length, instead of 19, has been adopted in order to make them more acceptable to English readers. The hidden subtleties of the Japanese language, which often conveys entirely different meanings to the same word, also the "pillow words" sometimes inserted by Japanese poets, may be found wanting; but that pictures as well as poem shall be presented, has been the chief aim striven for in the composition of the accompanying verses.

\* "A Year of Japanese Epigrams," by W. Porter (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press).

I.

GULLS AT PLAY.

Along the pools they run,  
And float with silent, restless wings,  
Silvered by spring's pale sun.

II.

A LATE WINTER BLOSSOM.

One night a frost severe  
Despoiled my little garden of  
The last rose of the year.

III.

DOWN BY THE QUAY

(Illustrated).

Aided by sun and breeze,  
Tall ships are whispering near the quay  
Their record of far seas.

IV.

THE FIERY BRACKEN.

The sunset stealing low  
Beneath the branches in the wood  
Sets all the fern aglow.

V.

THE ARTIST LOVERS.

So blest, so happy he,  
For when the sunlight ceased to shine  
He painted it for me.

VI.

THE FAITHFUL BIRDS.

The pigeons still remain  
Whether the trees are green or bare,  
In sunshine or in rain.

## VII.

## THE SECRET OF THE POOL.

Oh pool that mirrored bliss,  
We stood upon its marge, and learnt  
The thrill of Love's first kiss !

CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, F.I.B.P.

## OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Herbert Francis Webb Gillman, I.C.S., to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras in succession to Sir Harold Stuart, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., whose term of office has expired.

TELEGRAM FROM VICEROY, REVENUE DEPARTMENT,

DATED OCTOBER 31, 1916.

The week's rainfall has been scanty in the United Provinces, the Punjab (east and north), Kashmir, Rajputana, Central India, and Madras (south-east); fair in Upper Burma and Mysore; normal in the Punjab (south-west), the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, and Gujarat; and in excess elsewhere. There are prospects of good rain in the Peninsula. The Government of India now propose to discontinue sending this weather telegram.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Dr. T. W. Arnold, C.I.E., to be Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for Indian Students, in succession to Mr. C. E. Mallet, who will retire at his own request at the end of the year.

## COMMERCIAL NOTES

### THE JUTE CONTRACT

WHILE India has had a good year generally, in spite of or even because of the war, jute, tea, and coal showing handsome profits, jute merchants in Calcutta have been grumbling against what they call the arbitrary action of the Secretary of State for India in nominating Messrs. Ralli Brothers as the agents of the Government for the purchase of jute. The argument for the Government is that Messrs. Ralli Brothers possess such an extensive and, one may even say, so smooth-working organization that they are in a position to cope with the purchases of jute on a very large scale without taxing the resources of the Government. While there is a great deal of truth in the argument advanced on behalf of the Government, the other jute merchants in Calcutta also seem to have a legitimate grievance, in so far as the Government did not consult them, before appointing Messrs. Ralli Brothers as their buying agents, whether they were willing to do the work for the Government. Apart from the question of expediency, it does seem rather an invidious distinction to single out one firm among many to work for the Government. There are other old-established and well-regulated firms in Calcutta which would undoubtedly have done the work equally well. To quote the names of a few, Messrs. Thomas Duff and Co., Messrs. Andrew Yule and Co., and Messrs. Thomas and Co., are as well equipped as any other

responsible firm for the transaction of business in jute on a large scale. Then again, by placing its orders through a single firm, the Government unconsciously closes the avenue of sound financial advice in its jute purchases from men who have now mastered the intricacies of the trade by years of patient work in other firms. So far, however, from the point of view of the jute merchants in Calcutta. One, of course, has still to learn what moved the Secretary of State for India to take the step he has taken. The buying of jute is as difficult a business as any other requiring specialization, and it really requires a firm having almost unlimited resources to carry out purchases on as large a scale as the needs of the Government demand. As far, then, as the consideration of resources and organization is concerned, the selection of Messrs. Ralli Brothers as agents by the Government is justifiable, but there is also considerable force in the grievance of British jute firms who feel that their claims have been arbitrarily overlooked. A more equitable arrangement, one feels, would have been to extend the privilege of buying jute for the Government to a number of the responsible British firms in Calcutta. Some arrangement similar to that made in the case of wheat would probably have satisfied everyone concerned.

J. CLIVE ROOME.

# FORTHCOMING

## ("ASIATIC REVIEW" CALENDAR)

Monday, November 20. **Brahmo Somaj** Celebration of Keshub Chunder Sen's Birthday. 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington. Tea 4.30. Addresses 5 p.m.

**Royal Geographical Society.** The Theatre, Burlington Gardens, W. "Easter Island." Mr. and Mrs. W. Scoresby Routledge. 8.30 p.m.

Tuesday, November 21. **Royal Colonial Institute.** Hotel Cecil, Strand, W. Richard Hakluyt Tercentenary. Professor Foster Watson. 4 p.m.

Sunday, November 26. **Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland.** 43, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W. "Buddhism and the Upbringing of the Young." Mrs. H. E. Moore, B.A. 6.30 p.m.

Monday, November 27. **Lyceum Club.** 128, Piccadilly, W. British Empire Union Dinner. 8 p.m.

Tuesday, November 28. At the **Jehanghir Hall, Imperial Institute** (University of London). "Bagdad and German Intrigue." Canon Parfitt. 3 p.m.

Monday, December 4. **Royal Geographical Society.** The Theatre, Burlington Gardens, W. "The Kansu Marches of Tibet." Mr. Reginald Farrer. 8.30 p.m.

Tuesday, December 5. **Anglo-Russian Literary Society.** Imperial Institute, Kensington, W. "Babylonia: its History, Language, and Literature" (lantern illustrations) The Rev. J. Stephenson, B.D.

**Jehanghir Hall, Imperial Institute** (University of London). "Mesopotamia and Syria." Canon Parfitt. 3 p.m.

Wednesday, December 6. **Lyceum Club.** 128, Piccadilly, W. Geographical Circle. "Formation of the Nile Valley." Dr. Flinders Petrie. Tea 4; lecture 4.30 p.m.

Tuesday, December 12. **Royal Colonial Institute.** Hotel Cecil, Strand, W. "The Ordeal of Empire." Sir Walter Raleigh, M.A. 8.30 p.m.

Thursday, December 14. **Royal Society of Arts** (Indian Section). John Street, Adelphi. "The World's Cotton Supply and India's Share in it." Professor J. A. Todd. 4.30 p.m.

Monday, December 18. **Royal Geographical Society.** The Theatre, Burlington Gardens, W. "New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines." Mr. R. H. Compton. 8.30 p.m.

Tuesday, December 19. **Royal Colonial Institute.** Hotel Cecil, Strand, W. "Possibilities for British Trade in South America after the War" (illustrated). Miss Edith Browne.

Thursdays, at 2.30 p.m. **University College, Gower Street.** "Egyptology: Rings and Toilet Objects." Professor Flinders Petrie, LL.D.







